THE AMERICAN SCHOLAR

Vol. 6 Winter · 1937 No. 1

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The World of the Phonograph	*Aaron Copland*
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The Battle of the Books Today	*Howard R. Patch*
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Poems	*Dorothy Blair and Kile Crook*

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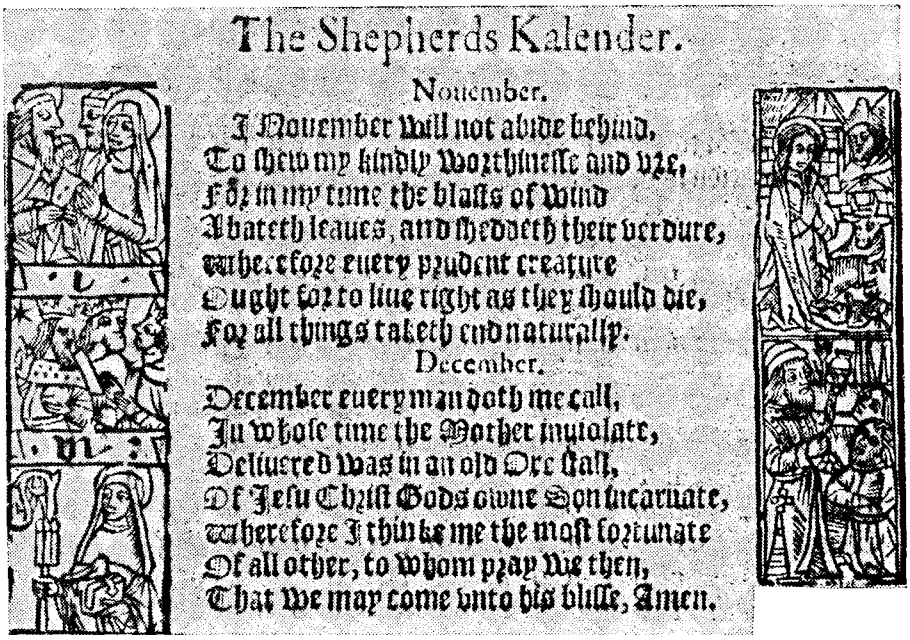
The American Scholar



The Shepherds Kalender.

November.

I November will not abide behind,
To shew my kindly worthinesse and vse,
For in my time the blasts of Wind
Abateth leaues, and shedeth their verdure,
Wherefore euery prudent creature
Ought for to liue right as they should die,
For all things taketh end naturally.

December.

December euery man doth me call,
In whose time the Mother inuiolate,
Deliuered was in an old Ore stall,
Of Jesu Christ Gods owne Son incarnate,
Wherefore I think me the most fortunate
Of all other, to whom pray We then,
That We may come vnto his blisse, Amen.

Courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York City

Part of a page from The Shepherds Kalender

"Printed for Iohn Wright and . . . to be sold at his Shop without Newgate at the signe of the Bible . . . 1631"

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Erasmus, 1520, by Albrecht Dürer
From the portrait in the Louvre

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To Hitler *via* Two Men

EWART EDMUND TURNER

AN ORPHAN boy, fourteen years of age, left the little province town to seek fame and fortune in his country's capital. He says that his possessions were two in number: "in my hand a satchel with clothing and linens, and in my heart an unshakable will." This orphan boy was Adolf Hitler. The city was Vienna. And the year was 1903.

Two dramatic political figures dominated the horizon of the city where Germany's future dictator was to pass his most impressionable years. Of them Hitler was later to write, "Considered as men both tower far above the average of the so-called parliamentary lights." If these two men had composed their own epitaphs the one might simply have chosen this inscription:

GEORG VON SCHÖNERER, 1842-1921
Nationalist

The other might have chosen this:

KARL LUEGER, 1844-1910
Socialist

Each man had founded and was leading one of the two political movements which were to exert positive influence on young Hitler. According to Hitler's book *Mein Kampf* both men failed. The reason he gives for this failure is significant. Schönerer was right in his nationalism but lacked socialism; Lueger learned the lessons of socialism but not of nationalism. Each found but one half of what Hitler considered truth. "Thus both men failed to obtain their larger goal" he commented. History may remember these two men chiefly for their determinative influence on the one who was to unite their insights in the synthesis known as National Socialism.

Georg von Schönerer was the moving spirit of Austria's Pan-

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Germanic party. Hitler calls him its "founder and leader." Schönerer inherited considerable wealth from his father who had been a successful railroad contractor. His temper was fiery, his patriotism almost pathological and his loyalty to his colleagues resolute. He had no sense of humor.

Austria-Hungary was a foundering nation. Both in Austria and in Hungary the dominant races, the Germans and the Magyars, were outnumbered by other racial groups. The German minority could have controlled Austria had it remained united but it broke up into three irreconcilable factions. From 1879 to 1893 the Taaffe ministry maintained itself by playing off the Poles and Czechs against the Germans. The oldest German university, Prague, founded in 1356, split into two universities during 1882, one Czechish and one German. In 1893 civil war raged so fiercely in one of Austria's provinces, Bohemia, that Prague was actually declared in a state of siege. The German element throughout Austria was outraged by a law which required public officials to reply to questions in the same language in which the question was asked; for Czechish officials this was simple since they all knew German but few Germans knew Czechish. In a Europe of increasing tensions Austria-Hungary had no unity, no central governing body. To all this racial chaos was added a looming class struggle, for with the introduction of more democratic suffrage the elections of May, 1907 brought one-third of the votes to an almost unknown party, the Socialists.

Among the desperate handful in Austria who foresaw their country's doom and strove to avert it none knew what he wanted more than Schönerer. The principle of race has been sinned against was his cry. Nationality is not a geographical but a biological concept. Austria and Germany have profited by their commercial *anschluss*; they would profit infinitely more by complete political reunion. But sentimental considerations of loyalty to historic frontiers and to the Hapsburg dynasty hinder this. They must be destroyed. It is madness to think that a state containing 50,000,000 heterogeneous inhabitants should long allow a single racial minority of 10,000,000 Germans to domi-

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nate. Therefore the Germans in Austria must either abandon the Dual Monarchy and once more fuse the *Ostmark* with the Fatherland or be overwhelmed by the races of non-Germanic blood. Until 1866 Austria had been a part of Germany. The collapse of the artificial structure over which Franz Joseph ruled could only be hailed with joy, for it would precipitate a united Germany. Such were Schönerer's convictions. He could say as Hitler said later, "I hated the mixture of races displayed in the capital. I hated the motley collection of Czechs, Poles, Hungarians, Ruthenians, Serbs, Croats, and between all, as humanity's eternal fungus of cleavage—Jews and ever again Jews."

That Schönerer's father had amassed the family's wealth while in the employ of the Rothschilds did not prevent his son from becoming a rabid anti-Semite. Students at the University of Vienna went from his tirades and sought excuses to insult Jews. His outbursts were so violent that the police repeatedly broke up his meetings to prevent the spread of anti-Semitism. This apostle of racialism gained the floor of the Diet of Lower Austria on October 3, 1882 to demand anti-Jewish legislation. Reading his own hatred into his fellow citizens, as the Nazi fanatics were later to do, he shouted that if immediate legal measures were not enacted the people would take the law into their own hands. When the Czar's unspeakable pogroms were at their height committees in most European capitals were working feverishly to find refuge for the neediest victims. But Schönerer leaped to his feet in Parliament and demanded a law prohibiting a single Russian Jew from entering Austria. Twenty-two legislators voted with him.

Pan-Germanism's volcanic leader was "sincere" enough in all this. He believed his native land to be disintegrating hourly due to intermarriage, "internationalism" and polyglot culture. Lloyd George spoke of the Dual Monarchy as "that ramshackle Empire." The Austria of this period was described by Hitler as a mosaic piece whose cement was crumbling, soon to let the whole collapse. "The longer I dwelt in this city" he wrote "the

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more my hatred grew for that foreign rabble which was devouring this old German center of culture. But the thought that this nation could long survive seemed simply laughable." Thus anti-Semitism was only one intense phase of a hatred which was levelled against all non-Germanic races in this sad and dissolving monarchy.

In the Hapsburg dynasty Schönerer saw the embodiment of the fatal polyglot politics. Hapsburgs themselves admitted something was wrong. Archduke Franz Ferdinand whose assassination was to kindle the World War declared "The Monarchy has fallen into the hands of Jews, Free Masons, Socialists, and Hungarians, and is ruled by them." Yet this same Heir Apparent married a Czechish wife, giving all Pan-Germans added demonstration that the Hapsburgs were defying the Teutonic tradition in Austria. Hitler later was to write these grim words, "The Royal House was becoming Czech in every possible way; and it was the hand of the goddess of eternal justice and inexorable retribution that caused the most deadly enemy of Germanism in Austria, the Archduke Franz Ferdinand, to fall by the very bullets which he himself had helped to mold."

The Pan-Germans were convinced that the various Teutonic states could best be united under the hegemony of Prussia and under the banner of the shrewd and powerful Hohenzollerns. An incident in Schönerer's life dramatizes this devotion to Prussia's ruling house. In the opening months of 1888 Emperor Wilhelm I began to sink rapidly and it became known that his end was a matter of days. One of Vienna's foremost newspapers, *Das Neue Wiener Tageblatt*, carried a report of his death on March 8. It was, however, to use Mark Twain's expression, grossly exaggerated, for the monarch did not die until the next day. When Schönerer saw this too-eager announcement he went into a rage. Rushing to the newspaper's offices he broke in violently and started laying waste personnel and property. Only the police, who had been frantically summoned, were able to cope with the maddened nationalist. He was quickly tried and sentenced to four months in jail, the loss of his title (*Ritter*,

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equivalent to the English Sir) and the loss of his seat in Parliament. Yet by 1897 he was allowed to resume his parliamentary post, which he occupied for ten years, until the virtual collapse of his movement in the elections of 1907.

The name of Schönerer is best known, not for his opposition to Jews and Hapsburgs but for his warfare against the political power of the Papacy. He was convinced that the Pope was actively working to prevent Austria's reunion with the Fatherland. According to the Pan-Germans Austria was considered by Rome as a final outpost against the Russian Orthodox church on the one hand and Protestant Prussia on the other. The *anschluss* so deeply desired by most Austrians could never be consummated so long as politics and education continued under domination from beyond the Alps.

For a decade Austrian life was disrupted by the *Los-von-Rom* movement, which called on patriots to leave the Catholic Church. Its leader, Georg von Schönerer, "was not the man to do things by halves" remarked Hitler. The Pan-Germans well knew that Austria was the seat of the Jesuits. Neither side showed quarter. Anti-clerical pamphleteers wrote against Catholic priests and scholars, calling them "dark men" (*Dunkelmänner*), the very same term which Alfred Rosenberg has resurrected today in the struggle between National Socialism and Catholicism.

Across the frontier in Germany the *Kulturkampf* of Bismarck was raging. Catholics in both countries were smarting under the loss of the Pope's temporal power. The Catholic Center party, which before the War was Germany's largest political group and which dominated post-war Germany until dissolved by Hitler, had among its original aims the hope of persuading Bismarck to intervene in behalf of the Pope's temporal power in Italy. Bismarck saw a peril to German unity in this political move of German Catholicism and consented to the harsh "May laws" of 1873-1875. In Prussia alone over a thousand parishes had no services or sacraments and only four of twelve bishoprics were occupied. World Catholicism called this a "Diocletian persecution."

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Both Bismarck and Schönerer lost. An astute remark of Hitler may furnish the clue: "Religious feeling still is more deeply rooted than all national and political considerations." Bismarck and Schönerer tried to conquer a great historical force by political means instead of by a counter-religion of racialism, bulwarked by opportunistic biology and mysticism.

Hitler's final evaluation of the man who taught him nationalism was that Schönerer was right in his ideas but weak in their application. He ought not to have gone into Parliament but should have resorted to direct appeals to the people. His movement never appreciated "the psyche of the masses." The eventual dictator of the Third Reich, who was himself to run afoul of Christendom, criticized Schönerer roundly for his efforts to persuade people to leave the church. Given the right type of nationalistic propaganda, Hitler asserts, the German Catholic can become a patriotic German just as the Catholic in Ireland, Poland, and France is today a loyal citizen. "The scanty understanding of this movement for the significance of the social problem cost it the truly militant masses" wrote Hitler. In short, nationalism without socialism is an idol with feet of clay.

Dr. Karl Lueger, the popular mayor of Vienna when the orphaned Adolf migrated there, was the archetype of what Hitler came to call socialism. "Had Dr. Karl Lueger lived in Germany" wrote Hitler "he would rank with the greatest figures of our people. That he labored in this impossible country was the misfortune of his work and himself." Another time Hitler made this comment, "Today even more than formerly I see in that man the mightiest German Burgomaster of all time." Still again Hitler termed him "the last great German to which this colony folk of the *Ostmark* gave birth."

From Lueger the young Hitler learned three things which were to influence his whole political development—anti-Semitism as a political tool, cross-sectional politics, and the psychology of the mass mind. Schönerer, for example, had opposed the Jews on racial grounds but nothing had come of it. Lueger opposed the Jews on far inferior grounds according to Hitler but

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had risen to power thereby. Lueger was the master of technique. Schönerer had succeeded in appealing only to a small group; Lueger unified the masses about a dynamic program of action. The latter knew that some sustaining emotion was needed to bind people to this program. He chose religion as a kind of political glue to unite prince and peasant, scholar and servant, in a classless social movement. Hitler saw the cleverness of this. Later he was not to be able to use religion for this glue as had Lueger, since Germany was one-third Catholic and two-thirds Protestant. But Hitler adopted the strategy, shifting to racial mysticism for his glue.

As a Roman Catholic Lueger was sincere but as an anti-Semite he was expedient. In private he maintained relationships with his Jewish friends. "I have often protected the Jews against the wishes of my party" he once stated. In spite of his violent anti-Semitical utterances he never lost the respect of many of Vienna's leading Jews according to no less an authority than the Jewish writer Maximilian Harden.

Both Hitler and Lueger sprang from similar social backgrounds. They were sons of employees in the Austrian civil service; Hitler's father was a customs official and Lueger's an usher at the Institute of Technology in Vienna. Both lost their fathers at an early age, forcing them out on their own resources. Both had sacrificial mothers who encouraged their ambitions.

In 1866, the fateful year when Bismarck separated Austria from Germany to unify the remaining provinces under Prussian hegemony, Karl Lueger finished his heroic struggle for professional training and opened a law office in Vienna. His moral and religious nature revolted against the obscenity and agnosticism of his native city. The churches were empty, the theatre vulgar, one-third of all the children born were illegitimate. A few years before that the German Liberal party had been a wholesome force in the land. Its idealism had helped overthrow absolute monarchism and establish tolerance and reform. But that party had now deteriorated. It wallowed in an economic individualism which favored the rich. It had also turned to anti-clericalism.

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Lueger observed that the chief Liberal leaders were Jews and reported that over a hundred editors in Austria were Jews. These Liberal newspapers felt their public slipping and sought to whip up interest by attacks on Catholicism.

Politics had hit a new low in the Dual Monarchy. Racial groups were demanding autonomous government, demanding privileges such as had been granted to the Magyars in Hungary. In 1871 the Emperor went so far as to announce officially that Bohemia would be granted domestic independence. This would have created a triple monarchy. The Poles, Slovenes and others saw their own autonomy at hand. Austria-Hungary faced dismemberment just at a time when only a strong government could preserve the monarchy in a seething Europe. A financial crash brought added disaster; a hundred banks closed their doors. This was the Austria which Lueger felt called to save. Neither politics, culture, nor religion was supplying a cohesive social bond.

Dr. Karl Lueger began and ended his political career with activities regarding burial. In the same day that newspapers carried the account of the illness from which he subsequently died, a notice also appeared announcing his municipalization of the city's funeral establishments. Lueger's first notoriety came from a fearless exposure of *Kuhhandel* (profiteering) in the city's cemetery administration. In the libel suit which the swindlers brought the young lawyer brilliantly uncovered their flagrant corruption. In this man were combined shrewd legal instinct, obvious moral integrity, personal charm and genuine civic concern. Throughout his legal career he handled over half his cases free of charge. This earned for him a well-merited reputation as a protector of the exploited poor. A second dramatic exposure of civic corruption extended Lueger's reputation and reform movement. A street car system was to be built in the capital. One firm of contractors approached members of the Municipal Council with velvety bribes. Unwittingly they included Karl Lueger, one of the Council's younger members, informing him it was perfectly safe to come in on the scheme since two highly respectable members, whom they named, had

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already accepted their proposition. Lueger unmasked the whole affair in public. The two "respectable" citizens sued him at law but again he exposed public corruption unmercifully.

At this point Lueger the demagogue slowly began to emerge. Almost beside himself with grief over conditions in Austria he grasped for any means at hand to enhance his oratorical appeals to the masses. Anti-Semitism was suggested to him. He found that it evoked enormous popular response. Partly out of conviction and partly out of expediency he continued its use. By 1882 we find this in his political platform: "Relentless warfare against the capitalism which is internationally organized under the extension of Jewish influence and whose power can be compared with none other." When anti-Semitism was adopted by Lueger it caused his leading lieutenants to withdraw their support. Only one dependable worker remained loyal. His devotion to the Catholic Church alienated Schönerer's Pan-Germans. It was Lueger's dark hour. His answer was to carry his program in mass meetings straight to the people. Schönerer was too aristocratic to have thought of such a procedure or to carry such a program through successfully. "And yet in general a *Weltanschauung* [world view] only has a chance for victory" wrote Hitler in comparing the two men "if the masses proclaim their willingness as bearers of the new doctrines to take upon themselves the inevitable struggle." Had a man appeared who could have combined the insight of the Pan-German and the technique of the Christian Socialist, the World War would not have been fought, Hitler intimated.

Just at the moment when Lueger saw he must win the man of the street a wider franchise was granted to the people. This was the year 1885. The electoral district Margarethen defied the high and mighty by electing Karl Lueger as its representative to the Reichsrat, Austria's national body.

Once in the nation's government Lueger started a new offensive against the Jews and especially against irreligious and economically reactionary Liberals. The political organization which he fostered, the Christian Socialist party (to which Chancellor

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Dollfuss was to belong), at one time was called the Anti-Semites and at another time the Anti-Liberals. Lueger was now speaking of "the Judao-Magyar peril." It was this young reformer who blocked the Liberals from removing the crucifixes from the nation's school rooms. He even succeeded in restoring daily prayers in the schools, a deed which a few years before would have been declared impossible. Similar pro-religious moves were made by Frick years later in Thuringia, when he became the first Nazi to win a minister's portfolio in a German provincial government.

Casting about for some means of saving Austrian culture, Lueger conceived the desperate plan of regenerating the capital city and working out from there as swiftly as he could. "The aims which this truly outstanding man set before himself were infinitely practical" Hitler observes in *Mein Kampf*. "He wished to capture Vienna, the heart of the Monarchy. From that city what remained of life still filtered into the sickly, senile body of the decaying Empire. If the heart were sound the rest of the body was bound to revive—an idea correct in theory, but the period for turning it into action was limited." To achieve his purpose Lueger saw that he must become Burgomaster. "There is a post" he wrote "in which I could do lasting good for my countrymen, yet feeble bunglers occupy it." They did not occupy it for long, however; Lueger was working against the hourglass of destiny.

In 1890 Vienna's rising demagogue confounded his enemies and astounded his friends by renouncing the district which so willingly would have returned him to Parliament and announced himself as candidate in Leopoldstadt, the stronghold of Judaism. A tornado of opposition rare even in Central Europe broke out but Lueger survived and carried the election. Then followed the mayoralty campaigns. He was elected Burgomaster of Vienna but declined because he lacked an absolute majority. Four decades later Hitler was offered power, only to refuse for the same reason. A second time the populace of Vienna voted Lueger into office; again he refused, as did Hitler also. "They will summon me a third time" Lueger assured his anxious friends. They

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did. In September, 1895 the people's hero was again elected and this time he felt secure enough to accept. And Adolf Hitler likewise accepted on the third call. For Lueger the victory was short-lived. A whisper sped through the city, becoming a roar and then a tornado: The Emperor has refused to confirm the decision of the people! Riots broke out in the streets and in Parliament. It was officially announced that Karl Lueger had bowed to the royal will and had elevated one of his colleagues to the office. Schönerer branded the Christian Socialist leader as a lackey of the Hapsburgs. The next year in April Lueger was elected Burgomaster a fourth time. Again the Emperor asked him to decline and become Vice-Burgomaster; again he complied. Then came a further extension of the franchise and an even more overwhelming choice of "Handsome Karl," as he was called, for the mayoralty. The Emperor finally bowed to this election of April 8, 1897 and Dr. Karl Lueger became Burgomaster of Austria's capital after five consecutive triumphs. The scene of Vienna's celebration was described as a city after a siege.

Of the galaxy of modern demagogues Lueger stands alone as one who initiated real social advances. He was not merely selfless, he was constructive. His first move was to organize the small merchants and the workers for their own protection. Executing an about-face from Liberalistic capitalism, Vienna municipalized nearly all public utilities within a ten-year period. This program, which came to be known as "middle-class politics," began by taking over the city gas. English capital controlled this commodity. Lueger was loath to see good Austrian money leaving the country in so steady a stream. The English firm had a concession which ran until 1899. This gave the enterprising Burgomaster less than three years to secure sufficient funds to construct gas works. At home and abroad the Rothschilds and other banking interests strove to frustrate his plans. Lueger was almost driven to distraction before he secured the needed $10,000,000 but the money came and the new project began returning a 10 per cent profit to the city's treasury. Street

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cars came next. A private firm had a franchise which had thirty years yet to run, and only horse cars were stipulated. This obstacle did not floor the intrepid Burgomaster. By 1902 he had absorbed the firm and had electrified the service. Fares were lowered, employees' hours were reduced, wages were raised 18 per cent and pensions increased 100 per cent. Water and light were next tackled by Lueger, then savings banks and insurance companies. Canals and bridges were constructed, sanitation and conveniences introduced in a modern way. A central market, slaughter house, fish and vegetable markets were built. A long-cherished dream of Lueger's found fulfilment when Vienna was girdled with municipal parks and forests exempt from real-estate speculation. Hitler may have modeled his *Kraft durch Freude* [Strength through Joy] program along lines suggested by the efforts of Vienna's genial Burgomaster to give the common man relaxation. Typical of this innovation was the outfitting of an island in the Danube on which employees of the civil service could disport themselves. Orphans were housed and given schooling, homes for the poor were erected, work with the insane was extended. Lueger built nearly a hundred new schools. He felt so strongly that all this was futile without religion that, despairing of Catholicism's inadequate facilities, he even allocated money to build churches. This opened him to the attacks of his enemies, who succeeded in bringing him to trial and in securing an injunction against his constructing churches with state funds.

Hitler was impressed by the genuine socialism of Lueger though at his own rise to power he was destined to forego similar economic reforms since private ownership had not fallen on such bad days in Germany. Another angle of the Burgomaster's socialism impressed him more determinatively. It was the genial, classless good-fellowship which was achieved in that city of caste and contrast. Dr. Ley, Hitler's labor leader, was one time to announce that *National-Sozialismus* would better be translated "National Fellowship" than "National Socialism." It was this ability to reach people that Hitler came to consider the

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first requirement of any movement called socialistic. At first Hitler considered Lueger a reactionary but the acclamation accorded the Burgomaster plus his efforts for the little man finally elicited only "unconcealed admiration." Hitler warns against the danger of seeing Lueger solely as a propagandist, "for in addition to being a wise tactician he also possessed the characteristics of a truly great and ingenious reformer."

It was said that Lueger's bachelor heart encompassed all Vienna. His was a familiar figure at christenings and weddings. Golden weddings he positively specialized in, attending over 1,300 during the first half of his mayoralty. He worshipped among the people in church, scarcely ever missing a service. And all this in spite of a painful disease which granted him no day of complete health. The versatile Burgomaster knew all the arts of flattering and bullying the public. He was a master showman. Maximilian Harden describes him as "a man with the energy of hell, yet as gay as the most frivolous joker." Parades and balcony speeches, dramatic entrances at rallies, tirades against the people's enemies—nothing was left out. Bands played a special Lueger march. Crowds appeared before his window chanting their demand to see their leader; they even had a song which began "Hoch Lueger," and they would shout "Hoch Lueger" after his carriage. On taking office he reduced the mayor's salary by half. During his incumbency he refused all gifts save what he turned directly over to charity.

A lingering illness finally foreclosed on the idol of Vienna. Time and again during the late winter of 1910 a twenty-one year old Austrian, Adolf Hitler, milled through the early morning crowds which gathered in the streets asking "Is he still alive?" Someone paid the dying Burgomaster a tribute by declaring that the police force of the city would have to be doubled when his influence was removed. On the 10th of March he passed away. Among the eye-witnesses of that most moving burial which Vienna may ever have known was one who later rose to leadership in Germany, firm in the resolution that one day Germany and Austria should be reunited. This young man's

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heart was doubly heavy. Not only had he lost an admired hero but he already scented the conflagration which was about to annihilate this great man's labors. "As the mighty funeral procession bore the dead Burgomaster, I too was numbered among the many hundred thousands who looked on at the tragedy. In deep emotion my feelings told me that the work of this man must prove in vain through the fate that would sweep this nation unresistingly to its destruction." Thus wrote Hitler. And he added these words, "Even as he died, tiny flames in the Balkans were already thrusting themselves upwards more greedily each month, so that fate graciously spared him from witnessing what he still believed he could prevent."

Schönerer and Lueger—these are the men who did much to mold Adolf Hitler in his formative years. Their political organizations became the models of his own. "I once followed both movements most attentively" he says in a typical passage, "the one from a pulse beat of my heart, the other entranced with admiration for that rare man who already appeared to me as a bitter symbol of all Austrian *Deutschtum*." The whole procedure of Pan-Germanism's rise and fall on the one hand and Christian Socialism's "unheard of ascent" on the other hand became for Hitler "classic objects of study of the deepest significance."

Vienna, declares Germany's present dictator, "was and remains for me the most arduous, though at once the most basic school of my life." Georg von Schönerer influenced Hitler's ideas racially and nationalistically. Comparing him with Lueger, Hitler wrote, "Schönerer appeared to me as the better and more fundamental thinker on essential problems." From Karl Lueger Hitler drew his "socialistic" strategy with the masses. Only a genius could have raised the dying Vienna "to a wondrously youthful life," as Lueger did, in Hitler's phrase. With sinister dexterity that Austrian orphan boy who sat at the feet of these dynamic men fused their insights as the germ of his National Socialism.

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As Grows the Game

A Case Study in Morality

SHAILER MATHEWS

ANALOGIES when treated as facts are more than rhetoric. They expose mind-sets. Where the chief business of people is war, ideals and evils are described in military terms. The son of God "goes forth to war" and duty is a "challenge." Even when the reader needs a classical dictionary to help him understand the terms he is urged to put on the armor of the Roman soldier as the whole armor of God. Pacific souls today protest against such militarizing of idealism and demand a regenerated vocabulary. They are good psychologists. We human beings may be rational but we are seldom swayed by reason. Words are emotional irritants and figures of speech are often more convincing than arguments.

Such philological preface warrants one in treating seriously a formula which might otherwise be taken as one of these devices with which the essayist or the preacher undertakes to arouse interest in dormant minds. Life, we say, is a game. Some action is not "cricket," which, translated into American, means it is "offside."

But there is here more than a figure of speech. The sociologist, when not dealing with statistics and Cassandra-like forecasts of coming doom, writes treatises on play. Out of the mass of material which he gathers, from the marriage customs of primitive races to the exhibitions of amateur tennis and golfing stars, there emerges a fact which is more than archeological. In a game one does for fun what one's ancestors did in deadly earnest. In those mid-Victorian days in which youth did not require gasoline engines for its recreations there was a game called

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"London Bridge is Falling Down." After certain preliminaries some fortunate boy was asked to choose the girl that he loved best, while the others encouraged him by their singing to bring about a satisfactory *dénouement*. But in that game lay the memory of a tragic custom. If a bridge was not to be destroyed by the evil spirits of a river its foundations had to be laid upon a girl's body. Most of our competitive games perpetuate military maneuvers. That which was once a battle is now a "meet." The hundred-yard dash and other foot races are the civilized descendants of the pursuits of an age when life itself was at stake, and the swinging of a bat against a pitched ball has all the motions but not the same results as the swinging of a club against an enemy's head.

Indeed, a civilization may be judged by its recreations. In a world that has given new value to life, prize-fighting according to rules replaces sports of the arena, and a girl's basket-ball team is a coefficient of the new equality of the sexes.

In a word, the evolution of a game illustrates the process by which raw human urges and practices have been controlled and, so to speak, domesticated. As a case-study of how *mores* are developed it has its suggestions for ethics.

This, of course, does not argue that the undertakings of life should be treated as a game—although a distinguished physicist has insisted that scientific research ought to be fun. The Olympic games are no substitute for the League of Nations, and the Davis cup tennis matches are not likely to take the place of those single combats of dictators and cabinet officers which postpone or threaten the ghastly sufferings of war. But one cannot overlook the significance of any change which is universally human. Any success in controlling and sublimating the elemental urges of human nature certainly has in it some encouragement to hope that it may be duplicated in other fields where as yet we rely upon force rather than intelligent cooperation. The development of a rational morality is certainly an end to which education should devote itself. Such an effort cannot afford to overlook any experience at its disposal.

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As Grows the Game

One of the most obvious characteristics of the history of a modern game is the persistence of its ancestral trait. The boxing match, despite its gloves and admission fees, is still a fist fight. Races are still races, ball games are still ball games. The difference lies in the fact that we have new rules for prize fights, racing, baseball, football and basket ball. The reasons for these new rules may be found in a variety of conditions, but speaking generally they were intended to restrain violence, prevent injury and grant equal rights to opposing players and teams. Such changes are identical with those in the development of morality. There, too, we can see the method by which those persistent urges which we share with the rest of the animal world have been restrained or directed by the customs which some group has regarded as indispensable for its welfare. The historian of morals does not look for a revelation from Heaven but he sees desirable *mores* given sanction by appeal to men's fear of supernatural beings. When a custom or a crusade has been judged advisable men have said that their gods willed it. The gods are seldom revolutionary. They respect social presupposition. According to the Ten Commandments a man is not to covet his neighbor's wife. A patriarchal family life was thus protected. But nothing is said about a woman's coveting a neighbor's husband. Equality in such prohibition has waited for a social order in which women as well as men have personal rights and obligations. In all codes divine commands are relative to basic social needs. Experience shows old customs ineffective. There are new techniques by which customs and institutions control and direct elementary impulses like sex, conflict, and desire for property. But human nature remains human nature in all moralities.

Perhaps the most striking characteristic of the development of a game as an illustration of a social process is that new rules are the result of playing the game. They are not theories superimposed upon conduct. Rules had to be changed in the interests of the game itself. For anyone who, like me, has been for years

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concerned with college athletics such a statement will evoke a flood of recollections as to changes in football. The old Rugby game when played in America was in danger of becoming a menace to limb and life. Therefore rules were changed to prevent flying wedges and deliberate attempts to disable members of the opposing team. Penalties were put upon offside plays. Dilatory tactics were forbidden. When players found it was more effective to throw the ball than to kick it, there came regulations as to forward passes. Amateur educational standards were made more definite. No reputable institution would now countenance such a hero as George Ade used in his *College Widow*.

Similarly morals have developed as social practices of the past needed to be readjusted to new conditions of economic life and to a new understanding of social life. Perhaps as striking an illustration of that as any is to be seen in the family. The primitive family emerged as a form of control of sex. The morality which it involved has never been static. Polygamy, once accepted as a normal social institution, was replaced by monogamy as civilization became more complicated and wives and children ceased to be property of the husband and father. Our Declaration of Independence declares as a self-evident truth that all men are created equal, but to be understood such a phrase needs to have the emphasis laid on the word "men." Slaves were not equal, women were not equal. The wife did not have the personal rights which her husband enjoyed. She did not have control over whatever property she might have. She could not vote and she did not have the same status in the courts. We men flatter ourselves that we have changed all this. We had to. Women now can own property and vote. They are as truly persons as are men. It would be hard to think of a social change more pregnant with consequences. The directions of Paul for the maintenance of the family have become anachronistic. Women no longer are weaker vessels made for men. Wives are no longer obliged to obey their husbands. It is true that such change in status is not universally recognized but it is

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rapidly progressing. One may well wonder what Paul would think of women's clubs, women's missionary societies, the League of Women Voters, and a woman Secretary of Labor. Such new conditions are already organizing their own *mores*, and the family as a social institution is developing new moralities.

But as an institution the family cannot be abandoned. It is a product of human experience which cannot be treated as a mere convention. Sexual promiscuity has been repudiated by social experience. Free and temporary unions are not justified between those truly devoted to more than physical values. A new morality is needed which will treat marriage as something more than a legalized mating and make the family an institution that conserves personal values. To treat a home as a boarding house is a reform against nature. The child still is a responsibility. He is a person as truly as his parents.

The development of new rules is true of honesty. No argument is needed to show that a social order in which property is unsafe would be impossible, but equally impossible would be a social order in which there was no incentive to exchange one's own property for that of someone else. The real difference between stealing and trading is that in the latter the exchange of property is mutual between the buyer and the seller. But just when does a man cease to be honest and business become a means of taking another's property without giving him full value? The answers to such questions are being worked out by actual experimentation in the control of commerce, transportation, mortgages and cooperations by legislature and courts. In such a process new moral classifications arise. That which seemed honest a generation ago is found to be socially injurious. Increasingly in the case of economic life, deductive economics is as subject to rectification by experience as has been deductive politics.

It would be a misunderstanding of the real world to say that a new rule is desirable simply because of its novelty. It must be found rational and effective. The opposition of the early

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Puritans to theatre going, card playing and dancing was a legitimate protest against the manners of the court of Charles II. Those of us who were brought up in Mid-Victorian New England know the sharp distinction drawn between worldliness and what was regarded as true Christian morality. We had not become so pagan as to rap on wood when conscious of good fortune, but we were a little terrified by happiness. It was safer to set our thoughts upon the future life. But everyone knows the change in moral ideas due to the abandonment of such distrust. We may lament the softening of morals but we cannot deny the fact that new standards of life have been set up as a result of experience itself. We have not abandoned family life and honesty and self-control, but we have discovered that such indispensable social elements can find expression in customs which by a sort of trial and error method are found to be more germane to what we optimistically call modern civilization.

New rules have been in accord with the nature of the particular game they direct. Rules governing football do not apply to ping-pong and despite the tendency towards identity of costume, tennis cannot be played according to rules governing swimming matches. But what is obvious in the development of a game is sometimes overlooked by reformers of our morals. Ideals in one field of morality are too often implemented in ways successful in another. There is, for example, a persistent idea that the same virtues are needed in a society based upon personal equality as in a society with orders and classes. In a society without equality, obedience and humility have always been praised. But what constitutes obedience among equals? As depressed groups, whether ethnic or economic, suddenly acquire equality they almost invariably rebel against law and customs. The newcomers grow arrogant and acquisitive, reproducing the attitude of their former superiors. The family no longer based on the property-rights of the husband, morals no longer based upon the fear of Hell, races and economic classes which have acquired the rights and control formerly denied them,

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all need new direction if equality is not to become an enemy of social cooperation. We are seeing tragedies which result from the revival of reliance upon terror. Even liberals malign the liberalism which they themselves have inherited and look to coercion and class war as agents of social change. But regimentation of thought and action indicates impatient distrust of process. We may need police power to restrain irresponsible equals but it is the business of education and religion to inculcate a moral authority born of the recognition of the reciprocal rights of equals. That would mean that each social group must implement its idealism in accordance with its own needs as they emerge from new situations. The family must be an experiment in cooperation. Industry must develop relations in which the production and consumption of material goods are controlled by a sense of the worth of persons. Internationalism must be based upon the moralizing of nationalism rather than of war. The individualism of the 18th century must be socialized by the frank recognition that the morals of the individual cannot be dissociated from the function of the various groups of which the individual is a member. But such group morality must be consistent with the human values it would conserve. The hatred of injustice and monopolized authority which appears in the struggle for the equality of groups must not destroy the benefits gained by the struggle for the rights of the individual. The efficiency of dictatorship will prove more costly than the "muddling through" of democracy, for it opposes the social process itself.

In the process by which primitive conflict has been transformed into a game we can see both a development of sportsmanship and the need of penalties for infraction of rules.

Sportsmanship as an element of social control has not received the attention it deserves. Such a feeling is akin to patriotism and what has been regarded as the "higher law" in family relations. It becomes a matter of honor on the part of the individual to observe ideals which are set forth for group action.

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The motive for victory is found in something which is not economic. Every good college coach endeavors to develop this attitude in his teams. "Dirty" playing is a reflection on the institution that the athletic team represents. I am not so naively optimistic as to believe that there is absolute recognition of ideals in sports any more than in life, but it is none the less true that in athletics there has been developed an ideal of clean playing and observance of rules, and avoidance of any unscrupulous act, which is more than sentimental rhetoric. It thus illustrates how an ideal of a group may become motive in its individual members. What churches and reform organization are endeavoring to accomplish is the same, namely, individual loyalty to ideals which are supposed to govern group action. A democracy is impossible without democrats. Better international relations presuppose a better public opinion. Everyone who has undertaken this sort of moral education knows its difficulties; but the effort is not as futile as discouraged and disillusioned souls lament. A long view of history is the soundest justification of such faith. But it is also confirmed by the recent changes in the attitudes of millions toward war, the injustice of economic organization, and the rights of women and depressed races. Much of the so-called confusion of our day is due to the fact that such moral advance is not yet intelligent enough to implement itself. It unfortunately can be exploited by political leaders for inconsistent programs.

Every change in the rules of a game has been enforced by penalties, which consist in the loss of advantage in the game itself. When there is an offside play a team is not sent to jail but finds itself farther from the opponent's goalpost. If a team fails to respect the decisions of a referee or an umpire it loses the game by default. Its members are not fined or compelled to write essays. The effectiveness of this relation of penalty to infraction of rules is suggestive in view of the effort which society has often made to enforce law by some form of punishment alien to the anti-social act. We send a man to jail for embezzling money and hang him for committing murder. We

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then say that we make the punishment fit the crime. It is a little difficult to see that such methods of treating anti-social acts has a deterrent effect, but it satisfies the sadistic desire to make people who have hurt us suffer. We are more consistent when we take away a driver's license from someone who has broken speed laws or driven an automobile while intoxicated. Whatever deterrent effect imprisonment and fines may have upon such offenses, in the long run it would probably be less than the deprivation of privilege.

In the case of prohibition we had an illustration of the results which follow the attempt to prevent, by law, conduct which a large element of aggressive public opinion judged desirable. In the case of those religious bodies in which marriage is regarded as a divine institution, the grounds for divorce are limited and the ecclesiastical sanctions are consistent with the conception of the institution. Where the conception of marriage as a contract prevails, the penalty is set by that conception. Each conception ignores the penalty demanded by the other.

A sanely organized morality will make sanctions consist in the loss of advantages which the observance of moral relations establishes. Clearly enough this is something more than legality. It is a recognition of the efficacy of self-respect and the recognition of the personal rights of others. And we are making progress. Alienists have ceased to treat the insane as possessed of the devil. Public opinion has long since repudiated torture, mutilation and the death penalty for most crimes, and we are coming to see that crime has pathological and social causes which must be corrected in some other way than by imprisonment and execution. Juvenile offenders are not universally treated as criminals and our courts of domestic relations are at least a gesture towards more intelligent treatment of family troubles. We are beginning to realize that the treatment of criminals should look toward their readjustment to social life and personal health. The abuse of such progress should not deter us from intelligent effort to make penalties which attach to the violation of the rules necessitated by social change consistent with the infrac-

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tions themselves. To base reconstruction upon terror is a reversion to methods which belong to the past.

New rules when effective have permitted the game still to be played. Undesirable elements have been eliminated but the game has gone on. This fact is worth consideration by idealists. Evils in our social life often tempt one to iconoclasm rather than reform, but absolutism in morals is as impracticable as in politics. Human life is not built on syllogisms but on emotions. Intelligence is needed to direct, not to replace, those dynamic elements of life. Too often that which we regard as conscience is based on a suppressed major premise which has no foundation in human experience. Its consequent demands are as unreasonable and impracticable as those derived from alleged conscientiousness which is a compound of prejudice and obstinacy. Human life and institutions must go on while they are being reshaped. Even a Deluge intended to eliminate evil could not prevent filial disrespect to the intoxicated Noah.

To the absolutist compromise is the supreme evil although progress has always been made through compromise. But this is no justification of cowardice in reform or of a philosophy of frustration. When one once recognizes process in life, progress is seen to be due to the elimination of the particular evils in the interests of newly-discovered personal values. Even revolutions based upon absolute principles are forced to recognize the persistence of human interests and social experience. Radicals have their place as social irritants, but really constructive minds are patient. The game must go on being played if new rules are to be of value.

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The World of the Phonograph

AARON COPLAND

THE phonograph world has only come into being in any real sense during the past few years. Too many people still think of it in terms of the old tin horn and tubular disc or possibly the more effete "victrola." But much has happened in the phonograph realm since then. After having been almost eclipsed by the coming of the radio it has gradually staged a come-back in a new and more highly developed form. It seems worth while to make a survey of this new world—to sum up briefly its potentialities for the individual music enthusiast, for schools and colleges, and for music in general.

I do not pretend to be either a phonograph fanatic or a phonograph expert. I speak from the standpoint of the musician who sees the importance for his art of this ever-growing medium of mechanical reproduction of sound. The supercilious disregard for "canned music," so widespread at one time among professional musicians and other intellectuals, has definitely been superseded by a renewed interest in possibilities opened up by an intelligent use of the phonograph. Here is a new medium—what is its real worth and how can we best use it for music's sake?

No musician worthy of the name would contend that the phonograph as a medium for reproducing music is equivalent to an actual performance by living interpreters. It has hardly more verisimilitude than the black and white reproduction of an oil painting. But no one would argue either that such reproductions do not have their value. Though this "ersatz" quality

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of the phonograph must never be lost sight of one must at the same time remember what a boon it is to those isolated communities or smaller cities in foreign countries such as Japan and Mexico which depend to a large extent on records for their contact with serious music.

How closely this mechanical medium approaches the real thing depends on two main factors, the phonograph itself and the phonograph record. Much depends, of course, on the quality of the instrument used. This is often though not always commensurate with the price of the instrument. Unfortunately the cost of a first-rate phonograph is still prohibitive for most modest incomes. The phonograph-radio companies have made great strides in producing machines of a remarkable fidelity but it is to be hoped that these may soon be put within closer reach of all by a reduction in cost.

The musical problem from the maker's standpoint is the production of a machine which will faithfully record the living tone quality of the various instruments. The tone must be neither "tubby," "scratchy" nor wavering—it must be natural. Much progress was made when instruments in the lowest and highest registers were brought within range of recording possibilities (the so-called catching of higher and lower frequencies). Other factors on which good tone depend are the size of the sounding board, the delicacy of the "pick-up" arm, the elimination of "surface noises" (the sound of the needle on the record) and other factors too technical to be discussed here. Curiously enough it is not always the machine which is considered scientifically most perfect by the engineer that is, musically speaking, the best reproducer of sound. The problem is complex and calls for closer cooperation of musician and engineer in the experimental laboratory.

The recording is almost of equal importance with the instrument used. Introduction a few years ago of so-called "orthophonic" or electrical recording played an important role in reawakening interest in the phonograph. A good recording is a combination of an excellent interpretive talent plus a clever

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manipulation of the scientific paraphernalia involved by those in charge of the recording studio. One must have an intelligent seating of the various instruments—quite unlike that of the concert hall—at varying distances from the microphone, wise handling of the dials which control volume, elimination of extraneous noises. It should be kept in mind also that certain musical combinations by their very nature record much better than others. Those instruments which in the opinion of this writer record best at the present time are the stringed instruments—the string quartet particularly. Possibly the least satisfactory of all recording combinations is that of chorus with orchestra. Remarkable progress has been made in recording of the orchestra alone, though this is still somewhat dependent upon the general complexity of the musical texture. Recording of the piano, in the old days painfully inadequate, has progressed too. Used percussively, however, it still leaves much to be desired, as do the percussive instruments themselves in many cases.

From an artistic standpoint the principal limitation of present-day recording is the "break" caused by the necessity for changing records at the end of approximately every four and a half minutes of music. Since music is an art which exists in time it is a very serious falsification to break that time relationship. Several attempts have been made to help the imagination fill in the resulting vacuum. Three principal methods have been tried: the most expensive machines are equipped with automatic record-changing devices; the music is "faded out" and "faded in" again at the end and beginning of each record; several measures of the end of one record are repeated at the beginning of the next in order to help the mind make the necessary leap. But all these are mere make-shifts. The one important attempt to overcome this handicap was the introduction of so-called long-playing records. Here the "break" was really eliminated. Unfortunately long-playing records cannot be used on the ordinary machine and since they have therefore not been successful from a commercial standpoint they are gradually

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being eliminated. This is a great pity, for the professional musician cannot be expected to accept the phonograph without reservations until this weakness of the "break" has been overcome.

Another though lesser disadvantage of the phonograph in its present form is its dynamic limitations. An orchestral crescendo on a record is something very different, and much less satisfying, than the same orchestral crescendo in the concert hall. It is not a question of mere volume. The best machines can produce an ear-splitting volume of sound but it is in most cases out of all proportion to the rest of the dynamic scheme. One is transported suddenly, as it were, from the top row in the gallery to the very center of the brass section. It may be doubted, however, whether this weakness is insuperable—our engineers have solved knottier problems.

The reader may be wondering at this point whether the radio does not render the phonograph superfluous. Certainly the radio is cheaper to run (records are costly) and it is topically minded. But if it is a question of musical fidelity I would place higher confidence in the powers of the phonograph. This is still a disputed point. Nevertheless it seems to me that to listen to the broadcasting of a phonograph recording is often more satisfying than to listen to the broadcasting of an actual performance.

The phonograph, moreover, enjoys the inestimable advantage of giving the listener what he wants when he wants it. Pity the poor radio adept who craves the intimacy of a string quartet past midnight. Via the phonograph a variety of musical fare can be obtained which not even the concert hall can rival.

Not many people realize how extensive and varied the repertoire of the phonograph is. It ranges through every land and clime and through every known musical epoch. For convenience the phonograph repertoire may be classified according to six main divisions: more or less familiar music of all kinds—"classical" and popular; very old music seldom heard in the concert hall—from earliest times to the 16th century; very new music—including that of living American composers;

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primitive and folk music of all ages and all countries; improvised music—known in France as "le jazz hot"; educational records—such as those illustrating the instruments of the orchestra, providing music tests or accompaniments for singing, dancing, gymnastics and so on.

A. Familiar Music: This category includes besides the standard works a great many lesser-known works by famous masters. Compositions such as the Goldberg *Variations* or the *Art of the Fugue* of Bach, the *Grosse Fugue* of Beethoven, unfamiliar songs of Hugo Wolf or Gabriel Fauré can seldom be heard except by means of the phonograph. The completely familiar compositions often exist in several versions. (There are six versions of César Franck's Violin Sonata.) Students of the art of interpretation can greatly profit by comparisons made from recordings.

B. Very Old Music: Interest in music of this sort is a comparatively recent phenomenon. Formerly none but a few musicological circles had access to these ancient manuscripts that antedate the Golden Age of Palestrina. A change came at the beginning of the 20th century. Modern music, with its breaking down of the classical-romantic tradition of tonalities and rhythms, brought with it a new understanding and admiration for the unconventionalities of the "primitives" of the 13th, 14th and 15th centuries. New and more easily decipherable texts were issued for the professional musician but performances continued to be few and far between.

One can readily see the invaluable service the phonograph can render music in bringing to life again these old masterworks of Adam de la Hale, Dufay, Okeghem, Machaut, Binchois and numerous others. The most comprehensive collection of this kind so far issued is the *Anthologie Sonore*, recorded abroad by the Pro Musica Antiqua of Brussels. Much care has been taken to verify the authenticity of the texts and to adhere to the original orchestration in so far as possible. Twenty records each year are issued by this organization, their first volume including such rare items as Franco-Flemish Chan-

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sons of the 15th century, Dances of the Middle Ages, Italian Ballades and Religious Songs of the 14th century and songs of the German Minnesingers of the 12th and 13th centuries.

C. Very New Music: Recordings by important contemporary composers of the more radical school have been made only during the past six or eight years. Here too the record makers can render an invaluable service to the cause of a true musical culture. Music played at concerts is preponderantly of the "museum" kind. The living composer cannot hope to contact a live public when his music is so infrequently heard. Recordings make it possible to hear recondite modern works a sufficient number of times for their proper evalution.

Selection of works of modern composers for recording has been rather haphazard.[1] While the works of Igor Stravinsky have received ample attention, there is a complete lack of any representative Arnold Schoenberg records. (Only the early *Verklarte Nacht* and *Die Gurrelieder* are available, neither of which are characteristic of Schoenberg's mature manner.) Other important works of the modern repertoire are missing. Living European composers, some of whose representative work can be obtained on records, include the following: Frenchmen —Ravel, Milhaud, Honegger, Ibert, Poulenc; Russians (besides Stravinsky)—Prokofieff, Shostakovitch; Hungarians—Bartok, Kodaly; Englishmen—Vaughan Williams, Walton, Lambert; German—Hindemith; Spaniard—de Falla; and the Finn, Sibelius.

Up to a year or two ago the contemporary Americans were almost entirely overlooked, due no doubt to a conviction of record makers that American composers do not sell. Fortunately this sales resistance, or whatever it was, has been broken down, if we can judge by the increasing number of native works that are being recorded. Compositions in extended forms by the following living Americans have been released: Ernest Bloch,

[1] A list of suggested recordings without which the modern repertoire cannot be said to be complete is appended below.

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John Alden Carpenter, Aaron Copland, Henry Eichheim, George Gershwin, Howard Hanson, Roy Harris, Werner Janssen, Quincy Porter, Carlos Salzedo, Ernest Schelling, Deems Taylor, Bernard Wagenaar, Edgar Varese. (One interesting venture, related to the native product, was carried out when the RCA Victor Company commissioned Roy Harris to write a work especially for recording purposes. This praiseworthy step should be continued and developed for the good of creative talent in America.)

D. Primitive and Folk Music: In this field the phonograph is well-nigh indispensable. There is an immense difference between taking down an indigenous song by means of our imperfect system of notation and hearing the same from the lips of the native singer. It is not always realized what a small portion of the world's music is familiar to us. With the phonograph one can listen to new worlds of sound: the sonorous languor of a Balinese gamalang, the dulcet flutes of the Incas of Peru, the astonishing virtuosity of the flamenco singer of Andalusia. It would be difficult to exaggerate the importance of these new fields of musical exoticism opened up by the phonograph.

E. Improvised Music: This is our own brand of native music that only the disc can put down for us—the not-to-be-despised improvisations of the "hot" variety—recently reborn under the more up-to-date name of "swing music." This type of music already has its anthropologists who seek for the better jazz men in darkest Harlem or the South Side of Chicago. Good swing bands are not formed—they just happen. And when they happen it is only the disc that can save their improvisations for posterity.[1]

F. Educational Records: This section includes a long and varied list of recordings made primarily for educational purposes and not of primary musical concern to us here.

An intelligent use of all this material can mean a broadening and deepening of one's entire musical experience—broadening in the sense of opening up ever-widening horizons of musical

[1] Complete information on this subject may be found in Hugues Panassie's book *Le Jazz Hot*—A Guide to Swing Music.

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enjoyment (as compared with the restricted field of the concert hall) and deepening in the sense of the more profound knowledge that only repeated hearings can bring. Even in the case of acknowledged masters—a Handel or a Schubert for example —whose works are the daily fare of the concert artist, the phonograph makes it possible to study their entire musical output more systematically, more chronologically, more thoroughly.

Colleges and schools have been quick to appreciate the educational value of the phonograph. Randall Thompson in his book *College Music* has collected interesting facts regarding the use of the phonograph in many colleges throughout the country. The University of Iowa, for example, has a collection of 3000 phonograph records, Columbia has 2000, Vassar 2300, Cornell 1800. At the University of Iowa

> the amount of actual lecturing may be as little as twelve minutes, the rest of the hour (in a course called "Introduction to Music") being devoted to the performance of music. Likewise in "Appreciation of Music" (Centenary College) and "Music in the Modern World" (University of Chicago) the lecturing is limited to a few explanatory remarks, most of the hour being given over to phonograph music.

It is not to be wondered at that courses on appreciation have become increasingly popular in schools and institutions all over the country, thanks to the aid of the phonograph. It is highly desirable that every library in the country be equipped with a record-lending and record-playing department. Certainly its usefulness is equivalent to if not greater than that of lending musical books and scores.

Musical conservatories, strangely enough, have been slow to take advantage of the aid of the phonograph in their work. Yet it is obvious that much could be done to broaden the music student's historical background with the help of recordings. The advantages of comparing different interpretations of the same work have already been pointed out. But there is, further, the documentary value of the phonograph. Works conducted or played by the composer himself are always highly instructive. In this connection Stravinsky in his recent *Chronicle of My Life*

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has bitterly complained that not more attention has been paid his own interpretations as put down on discs.

Is it not amazing that in our times, when a sure means, which is accessible to all, has been found of learning exactly how the author demands that his work should be executed, there should still be those who will not take any notice of such means, but persist in inserting concoctions of their own vintage?

Unfortunately, therefore, the rendering recorded by the author fails to achieve its most important object—that of safeguarding the composer's work by establishing the manner in which it ought to be played. This is all the more regrettable since it is not a question of a haphazard gramophone record of just any performance. Far from that, the very purpose of the work on these records is the elimination of all chance elements by selecting from among the different records those which are most successful. It is obvious that in even the very best records one is liable to come across certain defects such as crackling, a rough surface, excessive or insufficient resonance. But these defects, which, for that matter, can be more or less corrected by the gramophone and the choice of the needle, do not in the least affect the essential thing, without which it would be impossible to form any idea of the composition—I refer to the pace of the movements and their relationship to one another.

When one thinks of the complexity of making such records, of all the difficulties it presents, of all the accidents to which it is exposed, the constant nervous strain caused by the knowledge that one is continuously at the mercy of some possible stroke of bad luck, some extraneous noise by reason of which it may all have to be done over again, how can one help being embittered by the thought that the fruit of so much labor will be so little used even as a document by the very persons who should be most interested.

At the risk of being platitudinous one must point out that the passive listening to music, now made so easy, can never equal participation in the making of music oneself. Passive listening to phonograph music, moreover, brings with it the danger of over-familiarity. Not even the greatest masterworks can withstand endless repetition without finally surfeiting the listener. One cannot listen intelligently without keeping that in mind.

Appended are three lists[1] which fall into the following cate-

[1] Acknowledgments are due R. D. Darrell for his invaluable book *The Gramophone Shop Encyclopedia of Recorded Music.*

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gories: A. Recommended albums of more or less familiar works in serious forms; B. Recommended recordings of music by contemporary composers; C. Works which have not been recorded as yet and which suggest themselves as indispensable additions to the modern phonograph repertoire.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

LIST A: RECOMMENDED ALBUMS OF MORE OR LESS FAMILIAR WORKS

L'Anthologie Sonore
Bach—Brandenburg Concerti (Busch Chamber Players)
Beethoven—Piano Sonatas (Artur Schnabel)
Beethoven—Symphony No. 7 (Toscanini—Philharmonic Symphony Orchestra)
Brahms—Piano Quintet (Harold Bauer and Flonzaley Quartet)
Couperin—Collection of Harpsichord Works (Wanda Landowska)
Debussy—String Quartet (Pro Arte Quartet)
Gluck—Orphée et Eurydice (French recording)
Gregorian Chants—Monks Choir of St. Pierre de Solesmes Abbey
Haydn—String Quartets (Pro Arte Quartet)
Mahler—Symphony No. II (Ormandy—Minneapolis Symphony)
Moussorgsky—Pictures at an Exhibition (Koussevitzky—Boston Symphony)
Mozart—Cosi fan Tutti (Glyndebourne Festival Company)
Mozart—String Trio (Pasquier Trio)
Purcell—Fantasias (International String Quartet)
Rimsky-Korsakoff—Scheherazade (Stokowski—Philadelphia Orchestra)
Verdi—Preludes to Acts I and III of Traviata (Toscanini—Philharmonic Symphony Orchestra)
Wagner—Siegfried Idyll (Bruno Walter—Vienna Philharmonic)

LIST B: RECOMMENDED RECORDINGS OF MUSIC BY LIVING COMPOSERS

Béla Bartók—Quartet No. 2 Op. 17
Alban Berg—Lyric Suite for String Quartet
Ernest Bloch—Quintet for Piano and Strings
Concerto Grosso—String orchestra and piano
John Alden Carpenter—Skyscrapers—for orchestra
Manuel de Falla—Harpsichord Concerto
George Gershwin—Porgy and Bess—Excerpts
Roy Harris—Symphony (1933)
Paul Hindemith—Mathis der Maler—for orchestra
Quartet Op. 22
String Trio No. II
Arthur Honegger—Concertino for piano and orchestra
Judith—opera excerpts
Rugby—Symphonic movement for orchestra
Zoltan Kodaly—Háry Janos—Orchestral Suite
Darius Milhaud—La Creation du Monde
String Quartet No. 7
Les Choephores from L'Orestie d'Eschyle
Francis Poulenc—Trio for piano, oboe and bassoon
Serge Prokofieff—Le Pas d'Acier for orchestra
"Classical" Symphony

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Maurice Ravel—Ma Mère L'Oye—Orchestral Suite
Daphnis et Chloé Suite No. 2
String Quartet
Albert Roussel—Suite en Fa for orchestra
Symphony No. 3
Florent Schmitt—La Tragédie de Salomé
Jean Sibelius—Symphony No. 5
Symphony No. 7
Richard Strauss—Thus Spake Zarathustra
Dmitri Shostakovitch—Symphony No. I
Igor Stravinsky—Petroushka
L'Histoire d'un Soldat
Symphonie des Psaumes
William Walton—Portsmouth Point—for orchestra
Kurt Weill—Kleine Dreigroschenmusik
Edgar Varese—Ionisation for percussion instruments

LIST C: WORKS SUGGESTED AS INDISPENSABLE ADDITIONS TO THE PHONOGRAPH REPERTOIRE OF MUSIC BY RECENT COMPOSERS

Alban Berg—Excerpts from the Opera Wozzeck
Ferruccio Busoni—Rondo Arlechinesco
Carlos Chavez—Sinfónia India
Manuel de Falla—El Retablo de Maese Pedro
Gabriel Fauré—Trio for violin, cello and piano
Quintet No. II
Paul Hindemith—Das Marienleben—Song Cycle
Concerto Op. 36 No. I for piano and 12 instruments
Concerto for Orchestra Op. 38
Gustav Mahler—Das Lied von der Erde
Symphony No. 9
Darius Milhaud—Christophe Colomb—excerpts
Serge Prokofieff—Scythian Suite
Erik Satie—Socrate
Florent Schmitt—Violin Sonata
Arnold Schoenberg—Pierrot Lunaire
Five Orchestral Pieces
Serenata
Alexander Scriabine—Piano Sonatas No. 9 and 10
Igor Stravinsky—Symphony for Wind Instruments
Kurt Weill—Die Burgschaft—excerpts
Anton von Webern—Five Pieces for String Quartet
American composers:
Walter Piston—String Quartet No. 2
Roger Sessions—Symphony
Virgil Thomson—Four Saints in Three Acts—excerpts
Edgar Varese—Arcanes for orchestra

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The Chinese Road to Office

An Occidental View of an Oriental Institution

ARTHUR N. HOLCOMBE

TO a Western scholar, one of the most interesting schools in the Far East is the Central Political Institute at Nanking. Here several hundred young men, and a few young women also, are being trained for the service of the State. The Institute is organized very much like the familiar military and naval academies of the West, but it is not operated by military or naval officers and it does not train for the military or naval service. It trains for the civil service. In America also there are schools which train for the civil service; but in general they are cramming schools, where candidates for civil service appointments study for the examinations, chiefly for those which open the way into the lower ranks of the classified service. The Central Political Institute is not like one of these. It is designed to train young men for the higher ranks and launch them upon permanent careers as administrators of public business.

This civil service academy of the Chinese Republic recruits its students from all the provinces of China. They are selected by competitive examination. Last year thousands applied for admission, when only a few hundred could be taken into the freshman class. The fortunate candidates for admission receive appointments to the Institute for four years. Throughout their stay at Nanking they are maintained at public expense, like military and naval cadets at West Point and Annapolis, and are subjected to a rigid discipline only a little less severe than that at the Nanking Military Academy, where thousands of other young men are receiving training for officers' commissions in the national armies. At the end of their four years' training, the graduates of the Central Political Institute, like the Mili-

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tary Academy graduates, will be appointed to suitable positions in the service for which they have been trained, and will be sent out into the field to begin their careers. They will become recognized members of a profession, that of public business administration. In China this is neither precisely the same as law or politics or private business administration, but a distinct member of the family of professions.

To an American scholar this is not only an interesting, but also a surprising, development. We pride ourselves on belonging to a progressive nation, but we can point to no comparable development in the art of training for the public service in our country. In the United States we possess no civil service academy bearing even a distant relationship to our great military and naval academies. We think of Government as an employer of professional workers, who might be interchangeably in public or private service. We discourage ambitious and talented young men from preparing for the civil service in any other way than by training for professions by means of which, if necessary, they can make a satisfactory career outside the public service. There are a few struggling schools which seek to train young professional men for the Foreign Service. These schools, however, are not owned and operated by the Government, and their graduates are not dependent upon diplomatic and consular appointment for their careers, but may enter the service of the great corporations which engage in foreign trade. The Federal Government furnishes considerable technical training to civil as well as military officials after they have entered the public service, but in general the American government leaves the task of training for the civil service to private enterprise, and the American people refuse to regard the management of public business as an independent and distinctive profession.

It is clear that the Chinese practice, based upon general recognition that civil as well as military affairs require the attention of specially trained men, possesses certain important advantages over the American practice, which refuses to recognize a general need for different kinds of training for public

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and for private business. Or perhaps it would be better to say that the Chinese system possesses certain advantages in principle, which may be realized in practice, if right methods of training are employed and the best trained men actually receive the most desirable appointments. In the first place, the Chinese system tends to make the civil service more attractive to the ablest and wisest men. This tendency is strengthened by the circumstance that in China the administration of public business is not only a recognized independent profession but also the most highly esteemed of all the professions. Secondly, a government administered by such a professional body of civil servants may rest more largely upon the moral force of its members and in lesser measure upon physical force and violence than governments differently administered. Where the wisest and ablest men are drawn into the civil service, the authority of government tends to be sustained by their prestige and to require less support from the strong arm of the law. Thirdly, the public can hold the managers of public business, when animated by a superior esprit de corps, to a higher standard of efficiency than that which is applicable to a body of administrators undistinguished by a corporate sentiment of peculiar intensity and dignity. These possibilities manifestly depend upon the choice of sound methods of recruitment and training and upon a genuine respect for the public business man, when properly recruited and trained. But, given the necessary conditions, the advantages of the system are impressive.

The greater readiness of the contemporary Chinese to set up a special system of training for public businessmen than is to be observed in America can only be explained by the traditions of the country. The Chinese Empire was a scholastic empire. For more than two thousand years scholars played a more important rôle in Chinese politics than in the politics of any other great empire. The political importance of the Chinese classical scholars is universally recognized, but the nature of their strong and at times preponderant rôle in the business of government is not so widely understood. Indeed there has been much differ-

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ence of opinion concerning the true nature of that rôle. It is impossible to accept unreservedly the explanations offered by the classical scholars themselves, and after their downfall, following the overthrow of the Empire, the animosity of their successors against a system believed to have contributed greatly to the humiliation of China impeded agreement upon a better explanation. Doubtless the time has not yet arrived for a final interpretation of Chinese political scholasticism, but certain factors in determining the rôle of the classical scholars in Chinese imperial politics may be noted, and the general nature of their power may be made somewhat more clear.

The phenomenon to be explained is not merely the importance of scholars in politics, but particularly the preeminence of Confucian scholars. When in 221 B.C. Ch'in Shih Huang Ti finally conquered the last of the feudal states and consolidated the empire,—an achievement which despite many vicissitudes determined the general course of Chinese politics down to 1912,—the Confucianists were not the only scholars who aspired to furnish him with the necessary political advisers and civil servants for so vast an enterprise. Nor were they even the most eligible for his service. Their obstinate adherence to the discredited feudal system made them uncertain agents for an emperor who still had to fear the animosity of the surviving feudal chieftains, and their preference for moral authority over criminal laws and official punishments made them incapable of appreciating the policy of a statesman bent upon forming a more perfect union of the Chinese states by establishing a universal reign of law. The Confucianists could not forget that their Master had said: "If the people be led by laws, and uniformity sought to be given them by punishments, they will try to avoid the punishment, but have no sense of shame. But if they be led by virtue, and uniformity sought to be given them by the rules of propriety, they will have the sense of shame, and moreover will become good." Nor could the Confucianists fail to remember that the essence of "the Great Learning" was the wisdom of the ancients, embodied in the institutions of the

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fallen Chow Dynasty. In 221 B.C. it would have required a bold prophet to have proclaimed that a permanent consolidation of the empire was dependent upon the triumph of the Confucianists.

Under the great First Emperor the palace eunuchs and the political lawyers counted for more than the Confucianists. The palace eunuchs possessed certain important advantages as civil servants over their better educated rivals, the lawyers and moralists. They were always close to the Throne, and, if endowed with native wit and shrewdness, well placed to gain the ear of its occupant. The familiarity, which might be supposed to breed in the Son of Heaven contempt for the menials who surrounded him, might be offset by the greater reliability of servants who could feel no durable interest in life outside the palace and find no road to wealth or power except the favor of their master. Intelligent and vigorous emperors could discover among them trustworthy and efficient instruments for the execution of their measures. Weak and foolish emperors could easily succumb to the insidious influence of palace intrigue. It is not surprising that masterful rulers, like the First Emperor, should have found among the palace servants individuals of exceptional political cunning and apparent personal loyalty, or that during the reigns of incompetent emperors the palace eunuchs should have got out of control and exploited their position for private ends. Throughout the history of the Chinese Empire the palace eunuchs formed one of the chief parties in Chinese politics, always dangerous rivals or potential rivals of the scholars in politics. As the successive dynasties declined toward their fall, the eunuchs invariably became ever more active agencies in corrupting their governments and accomplishing their ruin.

The political lawyers, like the Confucianists, were educated men, and, unlike the Confucianists, were ready to accept the principles upon which their sovereign had resolved to govern his empire. They were willing to divorce politics from morals, and to put politics first in the government of the empire. But

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the Confucianists were unwilling to divorce politics from morals, and stubbornly resisted the demand that political ethics be subordinated to law. When they urged upon the Emperor their view that the first principle of the science of government consists in getting the proper men into public office, he was disposed to agree with them. But when they insisted also that they, and they alone, were the proper men, and further, that only a sovereign of good character, formed by treading the path of duty, as duty was understood and expounded by them, could secure the services of such as they, he confounded them by bringing in their more compliant rivals, the lawyers. Likewise his successors, the founders of the Han Dynasty, after the palace eunuchs had finished the ruin of his own dynasty, exhibited the same preference for legalists over moralists in the choice of ministers and the building of a civil service. Until feudalism ceased to be a menace to the consolidated empire and the Confucianists' traditional partiality for the defunct institutions of the Chow Dynasty no longer impaired their practical capacity to serve their new masters, the political lawyers and other factions among the scholars remained more eligible for employment in the imperial civil service.

The eventual triumph of the Confucianists over the rival scholastic parties seems to have been due chiefly to the superiority of Confucianism as a system of training for the public service. Of the five major duties in the Confucian ethical code the first, and presumably the most important in the life of the Confucian scholar, was that governing the relations between sovereign and minister. In theory this relationship was one of reciprocity. The minister was bound to serve his sovereign faithfully and well. Faithful service meant unquestioning loyalty as long as the Emperor should enjoy the mandate of Heaven. Nothing short of successful rebellion could justify the faithful Confucian minister in concluding that the mandate of Heaven had been transferred to another sovereign. Common people might properly join a rebellion before it had succeeded, when circumstances should seem to make rebellion

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necessary, but not a minister. Serving the sovereign well meant serving in accordance with the political maxims taught by Confucius or in his name. The Confucian maxims stressed such virtues as knowledge, magnanimity, and energy. These are excellent virtues in civil servants. The Han Dynasty did not reach the height of its power until it had accepted the Confucianists as the best of civil servants, and the conviction that the Confucian system of training civil servants produces the most serviceable body of public officers dominated the most successful rulers of China down to the end of the Empire. The Confucian system of political education, as all the world knows, became the essence of the Chinese Imperial Constitution.

But the Confucianists did not achieve their preeminence in the administration of the Empire without paying a heavy price. The original Confucian political ethics emphasized the duty of sovereigns to their ministers as strongly as the reciprocal duty of ministers to their sovereign. If ministers, according to Confucius, should serve their sovereign faithfully, a sovereign should reciprocate by employing his ministers according to the rules of propriety. What were these rules of propriety? Their general character appears from the conversation between the greatest of the Confucianists and King Hwui of Liang, recorded at the beginning of the works of Mencius. The King said to Mencius: "Venerable Sir, since you have traveled a great distance in order to call upon me, may I presume that you have brought counsels to profit my kingdom?" To which Mencius replied: "Why must your Majesty use that word 'profit'? What I have brought are counsels to benevolence and righteousness, and these are my only topics."

The education of sovereigns was as important a part of the ideal Confucian constitution as the education of ministers. But the Confucianists had only indifferent success in the education of sovereigns. Their rivals within the imperial palaces were too strong. Hereditary monarchy could not guarantee worthy monarchs. Educated or ignorant, the Confucianists were bound by their creed to serve their masters loyally and well. But em-

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perors were not necessarily bound by their creed to employ their ministers according to the Confucian rules of propriety. They were so bound only when it happened that their creed was the Confucian. And too often it happened otherwise. Hence, Confucianism produced thousands of excellent public servants. But it produced only a handful of excellent emperors. And only once did a Confucian scholar attempt to make himself emperor. This capable but rash minister was the celebrated Wang Mang, who founded the New Dynasty at the beginning of the Christian era. This was one of the most fascinating experiments ever performed by a scholar in politics. But it came to a bad end and the name of its author has been universally, though probably unjustly, execrated by good Confucianists ever since. Not until our own time, when the ill-fated Yuan Shih-kai tried to succeed the Manchus, has any Confucianist been equally venturesome. In short, the Confucianists secured a monopoly of the civil service by compromising their claims to sovereign power.

The old scholastic empire has gone and can never return to the modern world. But it is difficult to believe that the Chinese people can be satisfied with a modern republic unless it is also in some measure a scholastic republic. The Confucian political ethics is no more adequate for the education of a modern sovereign people than it was formerly for the education of sovereign emperors. But for the training of civil servants, now as formerly, it has much to offer to those politicians who are concerned about the recruitment of a loyal and competent personnel for the management of public business. It is not surprising, in view of the traditions of China, that the present Nanking government should revert to the old idea that public business administration constitutes an independent profession for which suitable persons should be specially trained. Nor is it surprising that the people of China should welcome a renewal of the supply of specially trained civil servants through the establishment of training schools in which the influence of the old Confucian spirit may be kept alive and adapted to the strange problems of the modern world.

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The Girl Who Shared Keats's Fate

"In Praise of Lady Dead and—"

NAOMI J. KIRK

A FEW months ago I was permitted to read some unpublished letters that challenged investigation in that they gave the lie to the commonly held view of Fanny Brawne, sweetheart of John Keats. A check of these against other established Keatsiana has intensified the conviction that here exists the true Fanny Brawne.

The "lovely knight" long ago came into his own; recently it is a barren year that does not add two or three volumes to the Keats shelf. Much has been written therein of this "lady dead" but most of it has been in a disparaging vein. From the beginning there were, however, people who defended her, but their voices have been lost in the louder denunciations.

Short biographical sketches are often the innocent cause of mistaken views; sentences have to be pared to skeletonal suggestions and the reader jumps at conclusions. In this case the longer biographies are equally at fault; they either ignore or perpetuate the libel. The first biographer of John Keats, R. M. Milnes, did not consult the sister of the poet and listened to others with less intimate knowledge. Other biographers wrote with too little investigation on this point and the case was closed against Fanny Brawne with a verdict of *guilty*.

When John Keats died in Rome, February 23, 1821, his friends in England were stunned by the news. They had been told to expect his death but they could not think that it would be so. They deluded themselves by clutching at Joseph Severn's absurdly optimistic letters that alternated with his discouraging ones.

Acceptance came hard. His friends in attempting to reconcile

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themselves to their loss were typically human. Life that allowed such wanton waste must be wrong; something or someone surely was to blame. They knew little of the nature of his disease and thus tended to over-emphasize the human element. The story is well known. Three people were variously adjudged at fault by members of the Keats circle. No unanimity of opinion could be secured then or later concerning any one of these three but each came in for his share of the obloquy. The three were: the anonymous Z—, author of the famous scurrilous reviews in *Blackwood's Magazine*; the poet's brother, George Keats; and the poet's fiancée, Fanny Brawne. We know now that John Keats died of tuberculosis—not of criticism, neglect, or unfulfilled love. Repeatedly each of these stories has been proved false but the legends persist.

The letters which throw so much light on the Fanny Brawne story have in a sense been given to the public. Unfortunately the donor of the letters saw fit to hedge them in by restrictions. These letters, originals in one place, copies in another, may be read by students—that is, those that stumble on them. No objection is had to publication of any conclusions arising from such reading, but the writer must not quote or give reference to the letters as an authority. Rather gratuitously a further condition is added. Readers may not make use of the contents to reflect unfavorably upon the persons concerned or mentioned. Ironically enough these letters vindicate Fanny Brawne and there is nothing that would reflect unfavorably upon any one else. Fanny Brawne's descendants are powerless in regard to these letters, publication of which must be delayed until 1961.[1] The late Amy Lowell had seen these same letters, two in the original and the others in copy, for in the preface to her *John Keats* (1924) she said:

It has been my good fortune to run across a number of letters of

[1] With the recent lifting of the ban placed upon publication of these letters the Oxford University Press is bringing them out during the early part of 1937 under the title, *The Letters of Fanny Brawne to Fanny Keats 1820-1824*.

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Fanny Brawne's, quite unknown to students. I have been allowed to quote these in excerpts only, but indeed to quote them in full would require an entire volume. To me, they make Fanny Brawne for the first time plausible; we see her as she was, not as egregious and erroneous legend has hitherto depicted her. To have been able, through these letters, to raise the cloud of malign misconstructions which have long obscured her, has been one of the chief satisfactions of my researches.

Thus Miss Lowell, convinced of literature's error in regard to Fanny Brawne, felt confident that she had lifted "the cloud of malign misconstructions." That she failed to do so may be tested by introducing the subject to any of one's literate friends. One of America's best-known poets asked me why I thought Miss Lowell had "attempted to whitewash Fanny Brawne's character." To me this seeming departure from Miss Lowell's fiercely maternal attitude toward the poet is the best proof of her sincerity. She fell short of her purpose because she was not allowed to quote at length or to give sources.

Perhaps by the very nature of contrast it is impossible to evaluate Fanny Brawne. She was not a genius; John Keats was. Thus she suffers by mere association of names. Harriet Monroe, in reviewing Amy Lowell's *John Keats* for the *Christian Science Monitor*, said:

> She put up a gallant defense for a little person long quite powerless to defend herself, Fanny Brawne. The sweethearts of famous men are usually in hard luck with posterity; as a rule they can't speak for themselves and the world blames them for whatever goes wrong in their captious and exacting lovers.

Later Miss Monroe added that "the elusive soul-mate of genius is as rare as genius itself." I should say much rarer! History has never been kind to the inamoratas of the great; faults and failures are attributed to an uncongenial environment, a lack of understanding or a failure to appreciate. The "dead ladies" are powerless; they cannot defend themselves.

Strangely enough, few of John Keats's friends knew of his love for Fanny Brawne. The one-time close-knit circle had broken up into smaller groups. Keats, however, maintained in-

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termittent connection with most of them. Robbed early of the influence of women in his home, he was attracted toward them but was never at ease in their presence. This new emotion was extremely complex and disturbing! There was not any shame in his reticence; his love was a holy of holies into which he did not invite his closest friends, much less wish to have it invaded by the vulgarly curious. The engagement was known and accepted by the girl's mother. Charles Brown, in whose home Keats lived, knew of the attachment and probably of the engagement. Keats was meticulous of appearances and although he lived for a time in the house adjoining the Brawnes he called and had his letters delivered at the front door. It is quite certain that Joseph Severn, living in constant association with Keats the last six months of his life, did not know the true relationship. He had the reading and writing of letters as well as Keats's delirium to inform him, but so reticent was the invalid that Severn, obtuse or not, did not guess. All Keats's friends knew of the warm friendship existing between Keats and the Brawne family but they did not suspect a love affair.

When Keats's death occurred the question arose as to what should be done about Fanny. Since some knew or surmised the betrothal it seemed best to tell all. Her position at best was anomalous. It had never been fair to her to keep it secret so long. While living, John Keats's wishes had been respected; dead, he could not care. Thus the heart-broken girl was given the scant solace of recognized grief. The news of the poet's death and the engagement coming simultaneously proved a nine-days' wonder. The large group of friends made so much of the story that the grief-stricken girl was repelled. Until his death she had been given no place in his life; now her feelings were probed, her grief sentimentalized, and her actions commented upon. Few girls under such circumstances could have satisfied so many and diverse critics. Charles Brown has left us a quietly dramatic report of the first days of grief.

Then *she*—she was to have it told her, and the worst had been concealed from her knowledge ever since your December letter. It is

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now five days since she heard it. I shall not speak of the first shock, nor of the following days,—it is enough that she is now pretty well,—and thro'out she has shown a firmness of mind which I little expected from one so young, and under such a load of grief.

He refrained from telling what form this grief took but we gather from his under-statement that it was stormy, irrational. In behavior Fanny Brawne may have been undisciplined and violent but after five days she became quiet and resigned—too resigned for our full belief. In self-defense she withdrew within herself. She was matured by her sorrow, gave up all social life and lived quietly with her family. From the point of view of posterity she made one mistake; she refused to wear her heart upon her sleeve for the macabre gloatings of sensation seekers. Only to John Keats's sister did she pour out her heart. It is as if overnight Fanny Brawne had grown to Keats's view; he had been reticent in life, she would be true to his wishes in death. He had, however, asked her to write and call on his sister. This request provided the outlet for pent-up emotion and has preserved for us a record of her true feeling.

Richard Abbey, the Keats's guardian, kept these two girls apart until Fanny Keats was of age. There was some difficulty about letter-writing but the correspondence was never actually banned. This friendship, begun on paper, ripened into love and lasted until Fanny Keats moved to Spain and severed all touch with her English associations. Barely three years the senior of Keats's sister, Fanny Brawne advised the younger girl about her health, counseled patience in regard to the Abbeys, and tried to furnish interests for her lonely days. She sent a lock of Keats's hair and out of her own grief found consolation for the bereft sister.

Mrs. Brawne, Brown, and the Dilkes seem to have comprised all who considered the proposed alliance a suitable one. It is a bit strange that the mother should have been willing to give her daughter to a young man so ill and impecunious. That the Dilkes favored the match carried great weight. They were the social élite of the Keats circle and later years proved their

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judgments trustworthy. Joseph Severn has left a record of disapproval but he had only the most casual of introductions to the Brawne family and was always jealous of anyone who shared Keats's attention or "after fame." The Reynolds family had not liked the Brawnes, primarily for the reason that the latter had supplanted them in Keats's favor. They circulated malicious stories about Fanny Brawne; Fanny knew this and commented upon the circumstance. Leigh Hunt and Keats became estranged over one of her letters, opened by mistake in the Hunt house. Although in no wise to blame for the rift Fanny Brawne's name held unpleasant associations for Hunt.

With the period's strange idea of decorum, protection, kindness or whatnot, Keats did not write directly to Fanny Brawne but instead sent his messages to Mrs. Brawne or Charles Brown. She was not to read these letters but to get the news of her sweetheart indirectly. As he grew weaker Keats was unable to endure the agony of writing to her. At the time of his departure he said:

> The thought of leaving Miss Brawne is beyond everything horrible—the sense of darkness coming over me—I alternately see her figure eternally vanishing. Some of the phrases she was in the habit of using during my last nursing at Wentworth Place ring in my ears.

On November 30, 1820 John Keats wrote his last letter; after that Severn wrote to Brown and upon receipt of English letters reported them to Keats. Only Fanny Brawne's letters lay unopened. The sight of a friend's handwriting or the imagined tones of his voice unnerved the invalid. The thought of Fanny Brawne was agony and her expression of her love for him went out into a void; her unread letters as well as those of his sister were buried with Keats, their contents unknown.

The mother and Brown had conspired to keep the hopelessness of the situation from Fanny Brawne but she sensed her lover's desperate condition and in part forced an admission from her mother. Impending heartbreak was all too apparent, a condition for which nature or training had little prepared her. What hurt her most was the fact that Keats seemed resigned

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to die. Possessed of so much health herself she could not comprehend the effect of his suffering on his love.

As the months went by and the various men, Taylor, Brown, Reynolds and Hunt, were collecting material for memoirs and a proposed long biography Fanny Brawne was badgered and tormented by these well-meaning but tactless friends. They wanted her love letters, her pictures, the books that Keats had given her—in short they wanted her love story. They felt as we do now—that John Keats belonged to the world. They mourned a charming companion, a literary genius; she mourned a lover. When she refused to have her romance bruited about they assigned her refusal to callous feeling and inability to appreciate. She felt, and with some reason, that they had ceased to grieve and wished merely to capitalize on former associations.

Keats spent his last six weeks in England in the Brawne home, nursed by Fanny and Mrs. Brawne. Charles Brown was absent on a tour; the unfortunate incident of the opened letter had driven Keats from Leigh Hunt's home. He was too ill to live alone and too impoverished for a nursing home. Mrs. Brawne braved criticism and took him in. The home was a bittersweet experience. The days were full of happy association; he was benefited both by Mrs. Brawne's excellent food and her cheeriness. Sixteen-year old Sam had a healthy boy's enthusiasm for fishing and "Tootts" or Margaret was just right to tease. But over all hung the cloud of illness and the impending departure for Italy. With Fanny so close all jealousy was forgotten, but with his medical training Keats knew how slight were his chances for recovery. He felt the trip would be useless and that it would be much easier to stay with those he loved. The same love, however, made it his duty to take the slim chance of recovery. Racked by disease and possessing the "exquisite love of life" that he had once attributed to Tom, he knew that he must die. Love had come too late; he could never realize its consummation.

Brown and Haslam, with no conception of American post facilities or of George Keats's financial straits, regarded George

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Keats's failure to send money to John as selfish neglect. They spread this interpretation among their friends and even went so far as to try to alienate Fanny Keats from her far-distant brother. Fanny Brawne knew this and although she knew George had not liked her and had not approved of John's love for her she wrote to Fanny in his defense. Amy Lowell was allowed to quote part of one brief paragraph of this defense. This letter, so magnanimously written, would in itself alone refute the oft-repeated charges of shallowness and selfishness. The letter shows rare insight into George Keats's dilemma, and her argument in his behalf sounds like John's own expression of faith in his brother. Another letter in this chain of evidence is that written upon the receipt of the news of John's death. Surely no one, not even the most sceptical, could read this and doubt Fanny Brawne's love. But so few have been privileged to see that letter! Instead they have heard and perpetuate in garbled form her remark to Charles Wentworth Dilke, an outburst of feeling that has never been weighed as to time of utterance or conditions that called it forth. The indignation of Keats's lovers, poets, and literary folk in general over this remark may be summed up in Edgar Lee Masters' accusation. He says in brief that Fanny Brawne had "no remembrance here for Keats's devotion," "no pity for his obscurity, . . . his untimely and tragic death," "no recognition of his passion for beauty," and "no understanding of his greatness."

In 1833, twelve years after the death of the poet, Fanny Brawne was preparing to marry a gentleman by the name of Lindo (later "Lindon"), a Jewish banker. Her brother, Samuel, had died in 1828; her mother was tragically burned to death in 1829, and Margaret had married and left Fanny alone. She lived in the house at Hampstead with Fanny Keats Llanos and her husband until they went to Spain in 1833. The Dilkes had moved to a distant suburb of London, and since Fanny Brawne made few friends after Keats's death she lived a retiring existence.

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Dilke, who had served as a trustee of the Brawne estate, was one of her best friends. He, interpreting her intention to marry as a sign that she was putting the former love out of her life, made another attempt to secure her treasures, her picture of Keats and his letters. She replied:

> The kindest act would be to let him rest forever in the obscurity to which circumstances have condemned him.

Dilke, careful preserver of documents and letters, the scholarly annotator of books, wrote down the statement. I think we can accept it as reasonably correct but I believe it has been made too much of. Is the situation not understandable, however? Fanny Brawne had never had the privilege of recognized romance. Even her grief had to be a solitary thing. The years had mitigated her sorrow and she was able to contemplate marriage with another. No girl approaching her wedding day wishes the skeleton of a former love at the nuptial feast. Dilke, coveting the Keatsiana, did not see that the revival of the subject brought forth emotions better left quiescent.

As for the ill-chosen word "obscurity," it does not mean that Fanny would herself condemn Keats to obscurity. The critics had done their best to do so and, during this first decade, seemed to have succeeded. The infamous attacks of Lockhart had not ceased with the poet's death. The "Cockney School" of poetry was still in disrepute and others than Fanny Brawne hated to see the old fight renewed. Even at this remote day our flesh crawls when we study the critical ethics, the vicious scurrility, of the period. John Keats's name and works had been made objects of derision. Fanny Brawne could not wish a repetition of this or a reminder of the torturing vehemence of his passion. No biography had been written, his posthumous poems lay unpublished, and a reissue of his published poems did not seem feasible. Fanny Brawne, in common with Keats's many friends, resented this neglect but she knew his attitude toward self-justification.

Later, under monetary pressure (her husband lost his

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wealth), she sold Keats's picture to Dilke. His letters she kept and, as the years brought deserved recognition to Keats's name she realized their value to biographers. Convention kept them close during her life but she impressed their value upon her children and stipulated that they be made public after her death. As a mature woman she broke her long silence and gave an estimate of Keats's character to Medwin.

Preferring to look at the major accusations first I have not forgotten John Keats's own testimony concerning the girl whom he chose for his wife. The prime source of information concerning Keats has been and still is his letters. No poet has left such an intimate and complete record of himself and his friends. There is a wealth of material on Fanny Brawne, some complimentary, some derogatory. But with this as with other subject matter it is necessary to remember not to take Keats too literally. He wrote charmingly and naturally because he attached so little importance to his letters. They reflected the mood of the moment, no more. Keats had a large circle of friends to whom he was devoted but with all of whom he grew irritated at times. The friendship might wane, never to be resumed, or it might grow warm again. With Brown he was changeable, now devoted, now critical or angry. To Haslam he was most unfair, resenting a mutilated letter, but he came to use him again. He drifted from Leigh Hunt never to return; Haydon he alternately admired and avoided, and Bailey he condemned on insufficient evidence. Thus no one statement concerning these close friends can be chosen as representative of his feeling toward them. Why then make it apply in the case of Miss Brawne?

He met Fanny Brawne under unpropitious circumstances. He had just returned from his ill-starred walking tour of Scotland and was ill, tired and frightened over Tom's relapse. He condemned himself for having left his brother alone. He, who had always leaned on others and now needed to be in bed himself, was forced to assume the household responsibility and to care for the dying Tom. Mrs. Dilke, who had looked after

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Tom, now gave ready sympathy to John. It was in her near-by home that he met Fanny Brawne. Never did a man need love more. He was missing George's capable serenity and the salty tongue of his sister-in-law. He needed medical attention but even more he needed understanding and love. For a long time he had been conscious of the need of feminine association but had found none satisfying.

Fanny Brawne's mother had rented Brown's house, next door to the Dilkes, for the summer. They met, a depressed, ill, hypersensitive poet and an immature, healthy, not too sensitive girl. He needed relaxation from worry and fatigue; she conceivably was having a first taste of young ladyhood. Keats said she was seventeen. Actually she was a year older, but whatever her age she patently had not yet learned poise. Writing to his brother in America John described the new acquaintance; his delineation, feature by feature, betrayed more interest than he would have liked to admit. He was offended and repelled by some of her mannerisms and did not have enough experience to see in this revulsion a battle within himself. His sarcasm was not so much for George Keats in America as it was for the reassurance of John Keats in England. Here is his first account:

> Her daughter Senior is I think beautiful, graceful, silly, fashionable and strange. We have a tiff now and then—and she behaves a little better, or I must have sheered off.
>
> Shall I give you Miss Brawne? She is about my height—with a fine style of countenance of the lengthened sort—she wants sentiment in every feature—she manages to make her hair look well—her nostrils are fine—though a little painful—her mouth is good and bad—her Profile is better than her full-face which indeed is not full but pale and thin without showing any bone. Her shape is very graceful and so are her movements—her Arms are good her hands baddish—her feet tolerable. She is not seventeen—but she is ignorant—monstrous in her behavior flying out in all directions—calling people such names that I was forced lately to make use of the term Minx—this I think not from any innate vice, but from a penchant she has for acting stylishly—I am however tired of such style and shall decline any more of it.

Yet within the week he found he was hopelessly in love, dis-

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tracted, not happy when with her and very miserable when away. But he never wrote to George to tell of his changed attitude. He may well have thought of his feeling as a defection to Tom. Also his brother George and his friends might disapprove. Thus Keats, so frank and communicative about most things, became secretive about his passion and asked Fanny that she not speak of it.

Keats's letters to Fanny Brawne have been analyzed, criticised and commented on endlessly. They have in turn been termed beautiful, tragic, wayward, unbalanced, profuse and vulgar. All agree they are the record of a tortured soul, excoriated by the handicap of ill health and an early recognition of the futility of his love.

Fanny Brawne was a healthy vivacious girl with a great zest for living. She liked to dance and Keats did not know how. She enjoyed the novelty of flirting and no doubt for a time was gratified by his jealousy. She was not educated to Keats's level of thought but that did not prevent his enjoying her conversation. Her letters show a felicity of phrase, a trick that may have been learned from him, and a decided sense of humor. James G. Kiernan, in a medical treatise on John Keats, says "she seems to have been a verbally lascivious psycholagnic woman." I have no knowledge of how he came to this conclusion but I have found nothing in Keats's letters or hers to justify this statement. Her letters are chatty, feminine, human. She discussed styles, dressmaking, dances, basket-weaving, the keeping of pigeons—a hobby the two Fanny's shared. Little bits of gossip about her friends crept in—Mrs. Dilke's propensity for being late, the Reynolds' trouble-making. The older girl gave sympathy for Fanny Keats's unhappiness in her guardian's home but offered sane advice about meeting the situation. She lent books to her when she was withdrawn from school and repeated the dead brother's advice and criticism about books. Occasionally an anniversary brought its reference to sorrow. John Keats had first declared his love on Christmas Day 1818; Fanny Brawne said it was the happiest day of her life and that

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all succeeding holidays would remind her of her loss. As you read, one by one, the remembered accusations of frivolity, disloyalty, lack of intelligence, failure to appreciate, all disappear. Fanny Brawne was not a great letter writer but she was a natural and sincere girl. Nothing short of a female Jekyll and Hyde could have written her letters and at the same time have been the person legend has painted her.

Although Keats needed someone who understood what he was doing he needed more someone who appealed to his physical senses. He was extremely sensitive about his five-feet-three-quarter-inch stature, and Fanny Brawne was diminutive. The often-published silhouette of Fanny Brawne gives the appearance of size, arrogance and little of the beauty Keats saw in her profile. The miniature owned by her grand-daughter, Mrs. Oswald Ellis, gives an entirely different view. It shows a demure, attractive girl. John Hamilton Reynolds called her a "poor idle Thing of womankind" but Reynolds lived in a house of jealous women. Her letters show that she knew the history of costume, and comparing her pictures with prints of the time we find that she achieved that sometimes difficult feat of being both charming and in the mode. As for details, it seems reasonably established that she had a slight, shapely form, blonde hair, a vivid, palish coloring, and an aquiline cast of features. Her manner was lively, sometimes bordering on boisterousness. She was vital and high-spirited but not entirely worldly-minded. Though inexperienced she was self-confident. She spoke French and possibly adopted silly airs. The father of Charles W. Dilke regarded her as a great beauty.

John Keats's love was passionate and sensual. It had a strong sexual element, characteristic of his disease and a late emotional maturing. He was well disciplined enough to manage the physical expression of his love, but medical critics suggest that this may have led to an "irritable erethism." His letters show love craving, morbid self-punishment, outbursts of jealous suspicion. He could not endure the idea of her shaking hands with other men. He was wretched when she was out of his sight yet he

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would absent himself for weeks or months, undergoing unnecessary agony. There was, however, no lasting expression of unkindness; after each flare of unjust suspicion he was always penitent and assumed the blame, as when he wrote:

> You have all your life believed everybody, I have always suspected everybody.

His ardor well might have repelled an older and more experienced girl and his changeable moods annoyed more long-suffering ones. At best John Keats was a difficult lover, albeit a charming one. Do we not expect Fanny Brawne to be endowed with the accumulated understanding and liberality of a century?

It is not my contention that she had a perfect comprehension of his poetic powers. Few of his critical admirers had that, for most of them fell short of his mental stature. Neither did she understand his moods or his silences; but what is finer, she loved him in spite of them. In only one of John Keats's letters is there reflected an active resentment on the part of Fanny Brawne. Then if the preceding letter of Keats is read we do not wonder. It should have gone into the fire as so many of his frenzied out-pourings did. His regret was prompt and her forgiveness equally so.

She liked parties, opera, pretty clothes and the military balls at Woolwich. She liked to tease, to coquette, to be gay, yet John Keats won her from all this, a man who did not dance and whom the inertia of disease had forced prematurely into a quiet life. She endured neglect patiently and when he chose to return accepted his contrition. Had her behavior been otherwise it would be reflected in his letters, and they show only self-condemnation. Fanny Brawne had rare forbearance for her years, evidence that she loved deeply.

We know John Keats as an immortal poet; she knew him as a flesh and blood man, not a hero nor yet a god. He was attractive physically, a whimsical, lovable boy who needed her. She loved him for what he was, not what he was to become.

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She loved the man, John Keats, not the poet. Dante Gabriel Rossetti thought the "Eve of St. Mark" should be read as an autobiographical poem, revealing Keats and his mistress. But Keats had no squeamishness in reporting his sins and probably would not have failed to recount to someone such a moral lapse had there been one.

No one has presented convincing evidence as to whether Fanny Brawne enjoyed or appreciated his poetry. John Keats did not woo her with poetry, but he did discuss his plans and share his enthusiasms with her. She respected his critical judgment and read the books he sent her. She accepted the high opinion Dilke and Brown had of his writing and felt a personal resentment when the reviewers were unfavorable. Critical acumen may not have been entirely lacking even at this youthful age for in later life she became a contributor to literary magazines (*Blackwood's*?) and was reported as the close friend of at least one London editor.

The statement is often made that she paralyzed the creative faculty of Keats. Yet the year following their meeting was the most fruitful of the four spent in creative work. It saw the ripening of his powers; in it were produced his great poems. The sonnet, "Bright Star," was written in the first days of their engagement; the same Christmas season gave the inspiration for "The Eve of St. Agnes." Later came the four immortal odes, "La Belle Dame Sans Merci" and "Lamia." Would John Keats have written as much had he never met Fanny Brawne? Who knows? There is a common belief that love kills the creative urge, and examples may be cited to prove the thesis. This may be true of those too happily mated; conversely, unsatisfaction may prove a great incentive to work. There was so much frustration in John Keats's love that it fanned the creative flame.

Some importance has been attached to the reminiscences of Fanny Brawne's cousin published in the *New York Herald*, April 12, 1889. This man had been a small boy when he visited the Brawne home in 1819. Seventy years later he gave his

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impression that Fanny Brawne was selfish, fond of admiration and did not care for Keats. Yet probably he had been entirely oblivious of her presence. Chance made him Fanny Brawne's cousin and an increasing interest in John Keats gave this man an opportunity for brief and belated fame. Long-distance impressions? Well, perhaps, but they sound second-hand. But why accept the view of a boy, insensible of or antagonistic to a girl's charm, as opposed to contemporary adult opinion? There is Brown's report of her grief, the Dilke's estimate of her worth. Fanny Keats clung to her as a sister and passed the tradition down to her children. Would this have been likely in the face of patent defection to the memory of a loved brother?

A contrasting contemporory view of Fanny Brawne has only recently come to light and because of its very disinterestedness it is especially significant. Gerald Griffin, a general man of letters about London, in the course of his literary pursuits came to know Valentin Llanos, novelist husband of Fanny Keats. They planned some collaboration on a Spanish subject, in pursuance of which Griffin became a visitor at the Llanos home. An impressionable young poet of twenty-two, he was deeply moved at the thought of meeting Keats's sister and his fiancée. All of this he wrote to his sisters, Lucy and Ellen. Griffin died young and in 1843 a brother, Dr. Daniel Griffin, published *The Life of Gerald Griffin* in which he included some of Gerald's correspondence. This biography of a secondary poet, novelist and playwright, though interesting, did not have a wide audience. The volume was not indexed, and since Griffin had not come to London until 1823 his life was not considered as a sourcebook for Keats material. In 1931 Mr. Edmund Blunden published his find in his *Keats's Letters; Marginalia.* These excerpts have been given further publicity by Mr. Maurice Buxton Forman in the "Biographical Memoranda" of *The Letters of John Keats.* Griffin, one of the most idealistic and sincere of English writers, had this to say in three of his letters about Keats's fiancée:

Keats you must know was in love, and the lady whom he was to

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have married had he survived Gifford's (the butcher) review, attended him to the last. She is a beautiful young creature, but now wasted away to a skeleton, and will follow him shortly I believe.

I spent a very pleasant evening the other day, with the sister of John Keats—his intended bride (as beautiful, elegant and accomplished a girl as any—or more so than any I have seen here) and the husband of the former who is a friend of mine.

Dining the other day at my friend Llanos's, I met that Miss B—of whom I spoke to you some time since—sadly changed and worn, I thought, but still most animated—lively and even witty in conversation. She quite dazzled me in spite of her pale looks. Her sister was there, younger and prettier, but not so clever. If I were certain that the whole article were equal to the specimen given, how I should wish that my dear Lucy had such a friend and companion in her solitude! and how I should pity poor Keats!

These impressions were not written for publication; they were family talk and were sent out of England. They were recorded by one entirely outside the Keats Circle with its intense taking of sides and its petty jealousies.

Admittedly John Keats's story is a sad one. Fanny Brawne may not have been the "soul mate of genius," but where would he have found such a one? Surely not in the circle of acquaintances that we know, the Reynolds or Matthews girls, a Charmion or even Marianne Jeffrey! His need was too great. Robbed early in life of all close feminine association, he needed some one who would combine the qualities of a mother, a wife, and a friend. Given a chance, Fanny Brawne might have approached this difficult role.

In praising the "lady dead" nothing is taken from the "lovely knight." He perforce takes first place in our minds and Fanny Brawne is important only as she helps us to see John Keats. The past has pictured her as a cold, self-seeking girl, frozen in her own ice. Present-day evidence shows her as sharing a fate with John Keats.

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The Government Has Always Paid

MAURICE NEUFELD

THE word *subsidy* has come to mean *un-American*. Within recent months (since steel has reached over 70 per cent of pre-depression production and there is a faint touch of prosperity in the air) the important gentlemen who discuss the affairs of the nation at almost every drug-store lunch counter or in the elevators of office buildings in any Eastern city have made it clear that a subsidy was an undesirable and alien device. The farmers of the West were being subsidized by a paternalistic government at the expense of the East which contributed the greatest share of the nation's taxes. Money was being drained from the people of the Atlantic seaboard for the sole purpose of making the most rugged and individualistic of American citizens, the farmer, a permanent ward of the State. These same gentlemen were often heard lamenting the gradual degradation of the American worker through the subsidizing forces of relief which kept him alive. Such methods of solving economic and social problems were foreign to American traditions they maintained. So confused has the meaning of *subsidy* become with the vocabulary of prejudice and emotion that the Federal Aviation Commission, reporting on January 31, 1935, justified its avoidance of this word by declaring: "We do so because of a desire to be specific in our language, and a genuine uncertainty as to the way in which that much-vexed term should be applied."

Yet it is strange that good Americans should feel ill at ease with a word so thoroughly American in the principle it represents. When the Federal Government created the A.A.A. as a method of helping the almost bankrupt farmers of the country by subsidizing them on condition that they control their production acreage it followed a tradition older than the D.A.R.

Why then has an old and tried principle aroused such enmity and perturbation? Ever since his inauguration President Roosevelt had insisted that a direct subsidy system be substituted for

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the old ocean mail contracts provided for in the Jones-White Act of 1920. But one session of Congress after another was unable to force the Postoffice Department, the Commerce Department, the Senate Commerce Committee and the steamship owners to agree upon a bill. Finally, in June 1936, the Ship Subsidy Bill, representing various measures proposed by Senators Copeland, Guffey, and Gibson from time to time, was passed. Again, shortly after Roosevelt assumed office, the scandals of the air mail contracts broke into headlines and since that time the Federal Aviation Committee has reported. It recommended direct subsidies.

Now a subsidy, whether direct or indirect, remains a subsidy. But in this inclination of American politicians and business men to favor the indirect variety, and to frown upon the kind which announces what it is, can be found a distinction which goes to the very basis of American life. It is not enough to dismiss this distinction and to say that, whether direct or indirect, a subsidy is governmental aid. This distinction explains to a large extent why an undisguised subsidy is un-American and why the traditional, indirect subsidy is acceptable as destructive neither of self-reliance nor of moral fiber.

The greatest and most sincere American myth is involved in what seems at first a purely economic problem. Until very recently the guiding principle of American life was a fable—in this land of unexampled opportunity and fertile resources the individual, with mule, cart, cow, and wife could inherit the earth through his efforts alone. The autocracies of the Old World might regulate the life of their people but in America the Government acted best when it governed least. The continuing presence of free land, where under frontier conditions an individual did encounter the forces of nature seemingly single-handed, made the long survival of this fable possible. And although free land disappeared sometime about the year 1890, not until 1932 did the fact receive widespread public recognition when Roosevelt, in a campaign speech in San Francisco, spoke of "looking West on California's shores. . . ." It is worthy of

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note, too, that Roosevelt's administration marks that time in our national history when a President made a point of demanding emphatically that a subsidy be called a subsidy.

Throughout American history in every crucial period of national development, usually moments of great economic changes, the Federal Government in Washington, either directly or through the states, has aided the stalwart and self-reliant American, whether farmer, manufacturer, railroad promoter, steamship owner, or air-line magnate. Such aid was to be expected in a pioneering country where new and weak communities were a constant phase of successive frontier expansions. Direct subsidies for roads and schools became usual and accepted, but when so-called private interests were involved, like the development of American industry or the creation of a huge transportation system, aid was given indirectly in the first instance and with the implication in the second instance that the railroads were really aiding the Government by enhancing the value of the public lands. Where the consuming ambition of a nation's people was to occupy every inch of arable soil and to exploit every vein of ore and every plank of timber, the belief in the competency and independence of the individual within the field of private enterprise was necessary. It had its roots, moreover, in the best thought of the time and could claim supporters all the way from Rousseau to the classical economists and their disciples. Americans spread over the land, built their factories and their railroads, and acted as though the Government did not aid them, though at every turn it did because they demanded that it should.

Even a swift reading of American history discloses that from the beginning certain classes received aid in the form of tariffs or public lands (in our day in the form of contracts), but while the frontier existed the national myth continued, and it was easier to believe in self-reliance if help were given indirectly than if the President or Congress had announced frankly that a subsidy was a subsidy and not something euphemistically disguised. Those who came to have most influence

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after the Revolutionary War and shortly before and after the Civil War were precisely those people who wanted aid. Although an occasional free-trader might protest, or a Calhoun might declare that one section of the country, one class in fact, was benefiting at the expense of the entire South, or murmurs might arise that railroads constructed through the gift of national lands would only strengthen the commercial and manufacturing interests at the expense of agriculture, the dominating groups never protested. On the contrary, while holding out their hands, like their 20th century kinsmen, they embraced the national myth and insisted upon its preservation. Indeed when, during the economic crisis following the World War, it became necessary to aid the shipping industry and when within recent years help for the aeronautics interests was urgent, aid was given in a manner which least disturbed the fable—through the indirect subsidy, a substantial contract.

The long lineage of the indirect subsidy—its sturdy branches reach back to the very beginning of the Republic—has made it so acceptable and so much a matter of course in the nation's business that its real character, curiously enough, has been obscured with the passing of the years. When Representative Jones, Chairman of the Agriculture Committee, prepared a resolution in the beginning of April 1936 directing the Tariff Commission to report to Congress the names of all corporations who had benefited from existing protective tariffs by $100,000 a year or more, he was not only planning a counter-attack upon Republican criticism of the A.A.A. benefit payments but was also uncovering to public view a well-known but often forgotten fact. For the tariff is the greatest of all subsidies. In the early days of the 19th century its subsidizing character was recognized and fought against. But when the industrial interests were victorious after the Civil War only an occasional election triumph of the Democrats kept this feature of the tariff from being forgotten entirely by the American people. The Republicans had succeeded in obscuring the tariff as subsidy and playing up the tariff as boon. Whenever the Democrats tampered with

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tariff duties a national depression followed. With all this to think about who could remember that the Government was paying the manufacturers to produce?

It was not always so. In his *Report on Manufactures* Hamilton recognized the opposition to the tariff by the Jeffersonian agriculturalists and devoted a large section of his argument to an attempt to dispel the amazing notion that duties would sacrifice the interests of the entire community to those of particular classes. But free-traders remained unconvinced and more than fifty years later, in the Treasury Report of 1845, R. J. Walker estimated that two-thirds of the total tax imposed upon the consuming public by the tariff of that period was paid to the protected classes in the form of enhanced prices. He placed that sum at $54,000,000. Henry Clay gave up the idea of trying to prove what was contrary to everyone's knowledge. He used another argument. Even if certain sections of the population benefited from the tariff, wasn't this better than the subservience of America to foreign industry? The struggle continued, and the opposition of the South to subsidizing industry at the heavy cost of the plantation owner and Western farmer brought about the Tariff of 1857 which reduced the rate to a general level of 24 per cent. But the Civil War established the Republican tariff, and a permanent, huge subsidy to the industrialists of individualistic America became an unacclaimed part of the silent American tradition. After that there was slight mention of the fact that a tariff was a subsidy. In this way, without weakening the moral fiber of those who profited most or of those who protest most loudly today, American industry was built and still continues through governmental aid.

The struggle over the tariff had lasted seventy years. When the nation faced another economic problem, closely allied to that of industrial expansion—the building of its continental transportation system—the method of the subsidy was adopted. The Land Grant policy in relation to the railroads was first established in 1850. The good labors of Senator Douglas had succeeded in getting Congress to transfer 2,500,000 acres in

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Illinois to that State. The State was to reconvey this land to those who were constructing the Illinois Central. Estimated at $1.25 an acre, the railroad was subsidized by $3,125,000. The last of the land grants to railroads was made to the Texas and Pacific in 1871. The total area of land given to railroads has been placed at 215,000,000 acres. Riegel, the historian of the western railroads, has estimated that the average price received by the railroads for this land was $5 an acre. This would mean that the American people subsidized the railroads by some $1,075,000,000. But there was no outcry that the moral fiber of those who participated in that great venture would be impaired although surely it was, as the annals of the Grant administration will testify.

Another great branch of the nation's transportation system has been continued at public expense through the indirect subsidy. At the end of the World War the Federal Government faced the serious problem of how the huge merchant marine built up during the War years was to be maintained in private hands. Its difficulty was solved by the method of the generous hand. Not only did the Marine Act of 1920 provide an encouraging loan fund for the construction of vessels but it also provided for ocean contract rates with fine possibilities. The Act of 1928 improved considerably the regulations and conditions of the earlier legislation. At the end of that year 22 contracts had been let involving an expenditure of $11,500,000. The National Industrial Conference Board estimated that on the straight basis of weight this total was in excess by $8,000,000. In 1935 the ocean mail contracts totalled $30,000,000. President Roosevelt stated publicly that they should have amounted to $3,000,000 and that $27,000,000 should have been given as a direct subsidy. The Ship Subsidy Bill, signed by President Roosevelt on June 30, 1936, authorizes the granting of direct subsidies up to the equivalent of 50 per cent of the construction cost of the vessels to ship operators. In the words of *The New York Times*: "The Ship Subsidy Bill ends a long-standing fictitious situation by displacing with actual subsidies to builders

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and operators the ocean mail contracts which have in effect been only subsidies."

The United States Government has been a helpful one. The air mail contracts were cancelled on February 9, 1934. In the ensuing investigation, when Senator Black became curious about the profits of a well-known air transport corporation ($1,488,306 were made in 1930 on an investment of $750), he asked an official of the company: "Derived from a Post Office contract exclusively?" The reply was, "Yes, sir." Somehow or other a Post Office contract sounds less like a gift than a government check.

The Federal Aviation Commission, reporting on January 31, 1935, showed in definite form that the industry had to be subsidized. Of the routes operating under mail contracts 56 per cent required additional assistance and 25 per cent could keep going without a subsidy only on the most economical basis. Of the route mileage, 67 per cent would disappear or suffer lowered standards if assistance were withdrawn. Apparently aid is necessary, but only through the direct subsidy can proper controls be instituted and the public interest be preserved. Those who are concerned about the drain upon the Federal Treasury occasioned by A.A.A. benefit payments and relief to the unemployed should remember that one air-line official made a cash profit of $1,060,314 on a $40 investment. A government contract boosted the stocks. At the present time there are indications that the Federal Government will subsidize a new dirigible line.

While the manufacturing and transportation interests were benefiting through the continuing or past favors of a paternalistic government the principle of the direct subsidy, or aid in the open, was gaining ground in those fields which had not proved attractive to private investment and had then become acceptable as objects of governmental encouragement and backing. Public roads, canals, schools, universities and agricultural colleges were built with public funds. After all, these public works touched neither the citizen's pockets nor his self-reliance

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since they were far removed both from profits and his main interests. A road or school contract, moreover, was all to the good.

Up to as late as 1912 the United States appropriated only $8,000,000 for the various subsidized projects under its control. But the effects of the World War could not be shaken off. The number of subsidized fields increased steadily and in so normal a year as 1925 these projects were aided to the sum of $147,000,000. This total included aid to agricultural colleges, experiment stations, cooperative agricultural extension work, vocational education, vocational rehabilitation, highways, forest fire prevention, distribution of nursery stock, forest extension work and maternity and infant hygiene. This list increased during the Coolidge and Hoover administration. The R.F.C., created before Roosevelt assumed office, has actually subsidized the banks of the country through loans which many banks are refusing to pay back on the ground that the original loan was unconstitutional. Of course the greatest number of new subsidized ventures arose under Roosevelt. But when the sums expended by the New Dealers begin to oppress the mind it should be recalled that the indirect subsidy has always been with us to our cost and that the direct subsidy has been creeping up on us steadily.

With the misery and want of the depression fast upon it the old American myth could not retain its shining splendor and those who began to receive government money found little to complain of. But those who had long received public funds had much to complain of, and in their trade organizations they started the cry of un-American and disastrous. Now, a glance at the role of the subsidy in American history cannot establish whether or not in a particular instance a subsidy is economically sound or whether it will weaken the energies and ambitions of a people or whether it will lead directly to the dangers of bureaucracy—but one thing knowledge of the American past establishes beyond doubt. There is one thing which the subsidy is not: *un-American.*

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Nebulous Philosophy—Jeans and Eddington

L. SUSAN STEBBING

THE common reader, to adapt a phrase from Samuel Johnson, is no more fitted to be the critic of physical theories than he is of works of art. He can enjoy a poem or a fugue; subsequently he may wish to ask questions that lead him to consult the critic. His attitude to physical theories is as entirely different as art is different from physics. He is interested only in so far as the physical sciences are applied to promote his daily comforts and change his mode of life or in so far as physical speculations are supposed to have a bearing upon religion and philosophy. The educated man in the street—the common reader of "books on science"—is aware that spectacular discoveries are being made in physics and that these discoveries have led the physicists to ask themselves what exactly is the nature of physical knowledge. There is a widespread belief that recent advances in astronomy and physics have important philosophical consequences. The belief that contemporary physical theories are of concern not only to the physicist is amusingly illustrated in an article in *The Times Literary Supplement* for September 19th. In a review of Mrs. Dugdale's life of A. J. Balfour the reviewer suggests that the influence of Balfour upon his contemporaries is less unintelligible now that we have evidence "of a sphere in which the satisfying rules of cause and effect cease to apply." For such a curious travesty of the implications of Heisenberg's Principle of Uncertainty the reviewer is

References, in this article, are given as follows: *The Nature of the Physical World* as *N.Ph.W.*; *New Pathways in Science* as *N.P.S.*; *Science and the Unseen World* as *S.U.W.*; *The Mysterious Universe* as *M.U.* The numeral which follows indicates the page of the volume cited.

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hardly to be blamed. We common readers are dependent upon the scientists for an explanation of those theories that are thought to have important implications beyond the scope of science. Unfortunately the popularizing scientist too often delights rather to mystify the reader than to enlighten him.

In Great Britain we have two eminent scientists, Sir Arthur Eddington and Sir James Jeans, who are adepts at picturesque exposition. Sir Arthur Eddington is an original thinker of the first rank. Sir James Jeans has shown himself capable of writing lucid and straightforward accounts of our present astronomical knowledge. But neither Sir Arthur nor Sir James seems to care very much whether his mode of presenting his views concerning the philosophical implications of physical theories makes it more difficult for the common reader to think clearly about these important matters. Jeans prides himself upon not being a philosopher either by inclination or by training. It seems to have escaped his notice that "a stranger in the realms of philosophy" may make a fool of himself when he enters therein. He is content to claim as his sole qualification "the proverbially advantageous position of the mere onlooker." Familiar proverbs are a dangerous guide but this one at least suggests that "the onlooker" must know the rules of the game. To this suggestion Jeans is deaf. Eddington protests that in dispensing with technical terms and mathematical symbols he finds himself unable always to mean what he says or to say what he means. Accordingly he takes refuge in abundant metaphors, the unsoundness of which he does not pause to notice, and in frequent illustrations which, though bright and entertaining, merely befool the reader into supposing that he understands what is unintelligible. He thus persuades the reader to accept his conclusions without having followed his argument. Neither Jeans nor Eddington seems to be aware of the difficulties of the position which both finally reach. They agree in holding that reflection upon the present state of physical knowledge suggests that reality is of the nature of consciousness or thought. The line of argument through which Jeans reaches this conclusion is, however, en-

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tirely different from Eddington's, nor would they, I think, be in close agreement in their interpretations of its significance.

Within the limits of a brief article it is impossible to deal adequately with the views of either of these two physicists. All that I can attempt is to indicate the lines of the argument pursued by Jeans and to state a little more fully the grounds upon which Eddington bases his conclusion. It is not possible even to mention some of the most exciting parts of Eddington's writings. The discussion must be confined within narrow limits. I trust that the appearance of dogmatism in this discussion may be attributed to what is in fact its cause, namely, the need for brevity. So far from wishing to deny the value of Eddington's writings, I wish to emphasize their thought-provoking quality. To misappropriate an expression of his own—Eddington may often talk "nonsense" but seldom "damned nonsense."

From the philosophical point of view the most striking characteristic of modern physical theory is its abstractness. From our point of view what is important is that physicists have begun to meditate upon the nature of this abstractness. Jeans insists that "the outstanding achievement of twentieth century physics" is to be found in "the general recognition that we are not yet in contact with ultimate reality" (*M.U.* 127). Eddington insists that physical knowledge is symbolic, that "matter and all else that is in the physical world have been reduced to a shadowy symbolism" (*S.U.W.* 22), and, he asserts, "physics most strongly insists that its methods do not penetrate behind the symbolism." The metaphor of the shadow and that which is shadowed plays no small part in determining the conclusions reached by Eddington and by Jeans. But their respective reactions to the metaphor are different.

Jeans, explicitly basing his view upon Plato's allegory of the Cave, argues that reality throws shadows upon the walls of the cave—our experience—in which we are imprisoned. These shadows are found to behave in accordance with the laws of mathematical thinking. These laws, he contends, have been formulated by mathematicians "out of their own inner con-

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sciousness." The reality which casts the shadows must obey the rules followed by the shadows. Whereupon, he concludes, the reality, i.e. the universe, must be a creation of pure thought. Indeed, he proceeds, the universe must consist of pure thought—the thoughts of God, the super-mathematician. Eddington rightly rejects this interpretation of the fact that physics has become increasingly mathematical in its content as well as in its form. "We are dealing in physics," he says, "with a symbolic world, and we can scarcely avoid employing the mathematician who is the professional wielder of symbols; but he must rise to the full opportunities of the responsible task entrusted to him and not indulge too freely his own bias for symbols with an arithmetical interpretation" (*N.Ph.W.* 209). Again, he says, "the main reason why the mathematician has beaten his rivals (at the task of explaining the universe) is that we have allowed him to dictate the terms of the competition. The fate of every theory of the universe is decided by a numerical test. Does the sum come out right? I am not sure that the mathematician understands this world of ours better than the poet and the mystic. Perhaps it is only that he is better at sums" (*N.P.S.* 324).

Although Eddington recognizes that these mathematical equations are symbols which describe the physical world he nevertheless frequently speaks of the physical world as itself consisting of symbols. Indeed it is essential to his main conclusion to do so. It is important to consider this in detail. Eddington has complained that his "shallower critics" have failed to see that he approaches "the many-sidedness of truth" from different angles and so have accused him of inconsistency because they have not kept these approaches separate. These critics, he says, "have also made capital by mixing passages in which the outlook is purely scientific or passages in which I was leading the reader on, with those giving explicit statements of my philosophical ideas" (*N.P.S.* 291). In defence of these critics it must be urged that Eddington does not afford his readers much help in disentangling these various approaches from different angles. These lines of approach become very speedily inextricably in-

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termingled. Nor will his plea that he must use inexact language help him. The resources of English and his command of the language are surely sufficient to enable him to make clear how he uses the expressions 'physical world,' 'world of physics,' 'external world,' and 'physical reality,' and whether any two or more of these expressions are synonymous. The following passages will suffice to show how difficult it is to know what precisely it is that Eddington is intending to assert:

(1) "We have learnt that the exploration of the external world by the methods of physical science leads not to a concrete reality but to a shadow world of symbols, beneath which those methods are unadapted for penetrating" (*S.U.W.* 45).

(2) "The external world of physics has thus become a world of shadows" (*N.Ph.W.* xvi).

(3) "The frank realization that physical science is concerned with a world of shadows is one of the most significant of recent advances" (*Ibid*).

(4) "The scientific world is, as I have often repeated, a shadow-world, shadowing a world familiar to our consciousness" (*N.Ph.W.* 109).

(5) "Only let it be understood that the truth we seek in science is the truth about an external world propounded as the theme of study, and is not bound up with any opinion as to the status of that world" (*N.Ph.W.* 285).

(6) "What we are dragging to light as the basis of all phenomena is a scheme of symbols connected by mathematical equations. That is what physical reality boils down to when probed by the methods which a physicist can apply" (*N.P.S.* 313).

(7) "We recognize a spiritual world alongside the physical world. Experience—that is to say, the self *cum* environment—comprises more than can be embraced in the physical world, restricted as it is to a complex of metrical symbols" (*N.Ph.W.* 288).

It is to be hoped that everyone will agree with the view, indicated in the last quotation, of the limitations of physical sci-

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ence. The point at issue at the moment is, however, whether Eddington considers the physical world, i.e. "a complex of metrical symbols" to be "the external world propounded as the theme of study" (5), and, therefore, that which the methods of physical science explore (1). Statement (6) suggests that the answer is in the affirmative. Yet Eddington also maintains that "science aims at constructing a world which shall be symbolic of the world of commonplace experience" (*N.Ph.W.* xv). Again, "It is true that the whole scientific inquiry starts from the familiar world and in the end it must return to the familiar world; but the part of the journey over which the physicist has charge is in foreign territory." Surely these two statements are in an inescapable contradiction with the view that the *basis* of all phenomena is "a scheme of symbols" which is itself the external world?

It seems to me that if Eddington has not fallen into a muddle through using too many synonymous, or partially synonymous expressions, then he was not, at the outset of his argument, sufficiently clear himself with regard to the distinction between *symbol* and *symbolized* and between *shadow* and *that which is shadowed*. For, on his own admission, physics starts from the familiar world of tables, stars and eclipses, aims at constructing a complex of metrical symbols which shall symbolize the recurrences in this world, and in order to fulfil this aim finds it necessary to introduce symbols having no exact counterpart in our sensible experience. The methods of physical science are not adequate, and are not intended to be adequate, to the description of all experience. Do not these contentions amount to the fact that physical science is concerned with one world and with those aspects alone of what is sensibly perceived in it which are susceptible of metrical treatment? To put the point in this way would be to avoid the puzzling multiplication of "worlds"—which have subsequently to be interlinked—and which would thus avoid also the wholly baffling notion of a complex of metrical symbols as *shadowing* tables, eclipses, and electrons. Eddington refuses to see that his contention ought to be stated

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in terms of a restriction of the scope of physics, not in terms of two (or more) worlds. His blindness on this point is no doubt due to his desire to maintain a conception of the physical world as "*hollow* enough to hold almost anything" (*N.P.S.* 313). Accordingly he is insistent that "the whole subject-matter of exact science consists of pointer readings and similar indications" (*N.Ph.W.* 252). The point of his insistence is made clear in the following important statement: "The recognition that our knowledge of the objects treated in physics consists solely of readings of pointers and other indicators transforms our view of the status of physical knowledge in a fundamental way. Until recently it was taken for granted that we had knowledge of a much more intimate kind of the entities of the external world" (*N.Ph.W.* 258). But what, we may ask, are "the *objects* treated in physics" since the *subject-matter* of physics is nothing but pointer-readings? And how are these objects related to "the entities of the external world"? It seems that Eddington must be using "objects treated in physics" as synonymous with "entities of the external world"; otherwise his statement that the status of physical knowledge has been transformed loses its point. Yet it also seems that he cannot be using these expressions synonymously for he urges that "in one case—namely for pointer readings of my own brain—I have an insight which is not limited to the evidence of the pointer readings. That insight shows that they are attached to a background of consciousness." This is a complete muddle. Even if Eddington were right in maintaining that the physicist has a self-knowledge of that which is in his own consciousness, it cannot be admitted that he has such insight into *what is going on in his brain.* At best the physiologist has knowledge of the pointer readings of *other people's* brains but not of his own; he may have awareness of the "background" of his own consciousness but he cannot have insight that the pointer readings of his brain are attached to this background. A brain is presumably *one* of "the entities of the external world." I say presumably for Eddington leaves entirely obscure *how* he uses the word 'external' in

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this context. No plea put forward on the ground of the difficulty of "saying what he means" could justify his failure to make this clear.

That Eddington is thoroughly muddled on this topic is abundantly evidenced by his theory of our knowledge of the external world, i.e. the "world" consisting of natural events, which in some of their aspects are studied by the different natural sciences. He pictures the mind as being "like an editor in his sanctum receiving through the nerves scrappy messages from all over the outside world, and making a story of them." He adds to this statement the picturesque remark—"with, I fear, a good deal of editorial invention" (*N.Ph.W.* 100). This illustration is further elaborated later in the book. He says: "It is necessary to keep reminding ourselves that all knowledge of our environment from which the world of physics is constructed, has entered in the form of messages transmitted along the nerves to the seat of consciousness. Obviously the messages travel in code. When messages relating to a table are travelling in the nerves, the nerve-disturbance does not in the least resemble either the external table that originates the mental impression or the conception of the table that arises in consciousness. In the central clearing station the incoming messages are sorted and decoded, partly by instinctive image-building inherited from the experience of our ancestors, partly by scientific comparison and reasoning. By this very indirect and hypothetical inference all our supposed acquaintance with and our theories of a world outside us have been built up. We are acquainted with an external world because its fibres run into our consciousness; it is only our own ends of the fibres that we actually know; from those ends we more or less successfully reconstruct the rest, as a palaeontologist reconstructs an extinct monster from its footprint" (*Ibid.* 278).

I have quoted these passages at length because they suffice to show how Eddington conceives the mind and its relation to the "outside world." We must bear in remembrance two contentions which are fundamental to Eddington's theory: (1) "No one

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can deny that mind is the first and most direct thing in our experience, and all else is remote inference—inference either intuitive or deliberate" (*N.Ph.W.* 281); (2) "We have direct self-knowledge of our own mind." I am not here concerned to dispute these two startling assertions but to stress the absurdity of accepting them in conjunction with Eddington's picture of the mind in its transactions with the outside world. Can it be plausibly maintained that *any* mind is acquainted with ends of fibres running into its consciousness, or that the mind's self-knowledge is awareness of receiving messages that have to be decoded? For my part I must disclaim such self-knowledge. Eddington himself, albeit in a different context, asks, "If our method consists in codifying, what can we possibly obtain but a code?" (*N.P.S.* 318). What sense can there be in talking of a mind's decoding messages when the mind in question is maintained to have no knowledge at all of the source of the code or of the entities to which the code-messages refer? Eddington compares this decoding process with a palaeontologist's reconstruction of an extinct monster from its footprint. But this comparison entirely misses the point since the palaeontologist does not *construct* but *reconstructs* on the basis of his considerable knowledge of entities that are of the same sort as that which is reconstructed.

The comparison of the mind to an editor's sanctum and to a central clearing station is merely a modern variant of the old, and fundamentally unclear, analogy of the telephone exchange. This analogy was used by Jeans, in his Presidential Address (1934) to the British Association. He also is led to it because of his belief that direct knowledge is always of one's own mind. His dictum: "Our minds can only be acquainted with things inside themselves—never with things outside," lays him also open to the necessity of showing how we do nevertheless seem to have knowledge of tables and stars, which are, presumably, "outside" the mind. His conclusion is that "the external world is essentially of the same nature as mental ideas." This conclusion seems to be based upon the view that we "know" the ex-

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ternal world and we *can* know only that which is inside our minds. As he naively remarks, "It may seem strange, and almost too good to be true, that Nature should in the last resort consist of something we can really understand." It is not easy to see how this conclusion can be reconciled with Jeans's contentions that our senses receive messages from the outer world through the media of space and time and that these messages give us knowledge. The difficulty is increased when we find that Jeans maintains that space and time are mere mental constructs and that what "enters through the gateways of knowledge" is appearance rather than reality. It seems then that what we *know*, even though it be of "the same nature as mental ideas" is always an appearance. He is anxious to insist that there is "a mysterious world outside ourselves to which our minds can never penetrate." Perhaps this mysterious world is what God knows, or what God *is*, which are, perhaps, the same thing. However that may be, it seems odd to find Jeans placing in this mysterious impenetrable world "the essential nature of a centimetre" as well as a wave-length, and also that which "sends messages through our senses." The picture of a telephone operator listening to conversations passing through the exchange and wishing to know something further of the speakers seems to both Eddington and Jeans a good analogue of the mind in its quest for "reality." But the picture creates more difficulties than it solves. In particular it creates the difficulty of postulating something essentially unknowable and yet that without which the world outside us could not be.

I am not sure whether Eddington would regard this as a difficulty; he seems at times to welcome the notion that there must be an *inscrutable* reality. In his discussion of the question "what is Mr. X?" (i.e. an *other* self) he says, "I learn that Mr. X has carbon in his brain, but the *immediate* knowledge was of something (not carbon) in my own mind" (*N.Ph.W.* 269). In the next paragraph he adds "One feature of this inference is that I never discover what carbon really is. It remains a symbol. There is carbon in my own brain-mind; but the self-knowledge

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of my mind does not reveal this to me." It is extraordinarily difficult to make any sense at all out of these statements. *Brain* is now hyphenated with *mind* but the self-knowledge is of the *mind* element in this hyphenated compound, not of the brain. Still, Eddington does not seem to regard it as essentially nonsensical to say that there might have been self-knowledge of the carbon in my own brain. He denies only that in fact we do have such self-knowledge. Again, carbon is said to be a *symbol*. Surely a symbol just is something a mind could know. Yet Eddington maintains that I never discover what carbon really is.

Difficult as it is to make sense of these statements it is not difficult to see why Eddington asserts them. They are dictated by his desire to show that "the physical world" is so hollow that it can be filled with anything and that it lies beyond the competence of the physicist to determine the filling. For this purpose Eddington first confines physics to a study of pointer readings, and secondly attempts to show that physics uses a cyclic method. He is thereupon enabled to maintain that there must be something of an "inscrutable nature" behind (or beneath) the pointer readings. By saying that physics uses a cyclic method Eddington means that every fundamental term in physics is defined in terms of another term, which is defined in terms of another term, and so on, until a circle has been completed. His list runs: potential, interval, scale, matter, stress, potential. It is neither necessary nor possible here to consider these terms in detail. It must be enough to point out (dogmatically for lack of space) that Eddington nowhere explains clearly what a pointer reading is, i.e. what is involved in the *reading* of the pointer. It seems that he could hardly deny that a pointer reading is an event. If so, events are the data of physics. But an interval (in the technical sense) is a relation between events, of which we may be directly aware. Eddington speaks of an object, e.g. an elephant, as a "bundle of pointer readings." From this point of view scales and clocks may be regarded as bundles of events and are not independently required in the definition of 'interval.' Eddington's "House-that-Jack-built" method is not in fact the method

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by which physics as a science has been developed. In an account of the data of physics, origins—i.e. that which set the thinker to ask questions—cannot be entirely ignored. In an advanced stage of a science it is possible to use a cyclic method of exposition. Such an exposition has beauty and is attractive to the logician and the mathematical physicist. But the completed exposition either falls wholly within the science of pure mathematics or it requires an interpretation within the confines of physical science itself. Such an interpretation breaks through the cycle. *Mathematical* physics become mathematical *physics* only in virtue of such an interpretation, which is provided by the recurrent properties of events. What is *stated* in the construction of a physical theory is the observable recurrent relations in which perceivable entities stand to one another.

Surely it is absurd to suppose that the study of physics should lead to the discovery that there are *inscrutable natures* which are "some kind of counterpart in the external world" of that which is in our minds. Even if the physicist could know that there are inscrutable counterparts he could, as a physicist, have no concern with them. The absurdity of supposing otherwise is concealed from Eddington owing to his habit of using bad metaphors instead of arguments. In one of the many passages in which Eddington uses the transmitter type of argument he says, "The mind as a central receiving station reads the dots and dashes of the incoming nerve-signals. By frequent repetition of their call-signals the various transmitting stations of the outside world become familiar. . . . But a broadcasting station is not *like* its call-signal; there is no commensurability in their nature. So too the chairs and tables around us which broadcast to us incessantly those signals which affect our sight and touch cannot in their nature be like unto the signals or to the sensation which the signals awake at the end of their journey" (*S.U.W.* 23). Here the analogy of the broadcasting station is transformed into the metaphorical statement that *chairs* broadcast *signals* to us, and it is argued that just as the broadcasting station is not like its call-signal so the chair in its own nature is not like our

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perception of it. This argument slides over the important question of what chairs and tables are "in their nature." What warrant is there for supposing that a chair has a nature utterly unlike how it behaves and what it is perceived as? Eddington's metaphorical statements instead of providing an argument gratuitously create a puzzle. Eddington must admit that some of the dots or dashes transmitted by the broadcasting chair are *received* as colors. In his view "the color is mere mind-spinning" (*N.Ph.W.* 94). No doubt he regards color as part of the editorial invention mentioned earlier. But it is difficult to believe that he means color to be included in "the substratum of everything" which is, he says, "mental in character" (281). Certainly the mind has no self-knowledge of its power of spinning colors. Yet if not, how does Eddington know that the mind spins the color of the chair? Again, how are we to understand the mechanical metaphor of *spinning* thus used in relation to mind? I suggest that in the context in which Eddington here uses it the word 'spinning' is devoid of sense. It is, however, not difficult to see how Eddington has come to hold this view. Being convinced that color cannot be "dealt with" by physics, and having already decided that "the universe" contains nothing but mind and the entities dealt with by physics, he is bound to fall back upon the usual resort of physicists in a difficulty and to put the unwanted entities into that strange limbo *the mind*. Apart from this supposedly exhaustive dichotomy, there would be no reason to assign color to the status of an editorial fiction or to regard it as the output of that contradiction in terms—a non-mechanical spinning-wheel. For why should not color be a non-physical property of events? The question is not answered by the simple device of *naming* events "pointer readings."

Perhaps it is not possible to clear up these confusions. But at least this much may be said. Eddington's Idealism is the result of his unwarranted assumption that there is a twofold symbolism. First, color symbolizes electromagnetic waves; the former is "in the mind," the latter "in the external world." Secondly, these waves symbolize an unknown and indeed in-

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scrutable something. It is not the business of physics to scrutinize the inscrutable. We may safely hand over this task to the theologian or to the old-fashioned metaphysician. Eddington unfortunately thinks otherwise. He believes that the study of physics stands in need of completion and finds completion in the idea of a Universal Mind. "We have seen," he says, "that the cyclic scheme of physics presupposes a background outside the scope of its investigations. In this background we must find, first our own personality, and then perhaps a greater personality. The idea of a Universal Mind or Logos would be, I think, a fairly plausible inference from the present state of scientific theory" (*N.Ph.W.* 338). He hastens to point out that this Universal Mind cannot on the basis of physics alone be known to be God; it might be the Devil. Our interest, however, is in the strange view that scientific theory (i.e. physics) is capable of yielding an inference to a Universal *Mind*, whether divine or devilish. Eddington supposes that this inference is possible because, and only because, he has brought himself to believe that "the world of physics" is symbolic, not of events in Nature but of inscrutable entities. His vicious dichotomy has left him with nothing but *mind* "to liken them to."

Always for Eddington, it seems, a *symbol* is a *shadow*. The common reader will admit that "a shadow which does not shadow anything" is an absurdity. So Eddington gently leads us on to the conclusion that the "shadowy symbolism" of physics must shadow some counterpart. It is much to be regretted that Eddington has never happened to notice that a symbol is, in every relevant respect, utterly different from a shadow.

November

DOROTHY BLAIR

Wind wild on the mountain heights,
Snow riding the clouds,
Last leaves in their downward flights
Weaving the roses shrouds.

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Erasmus, Enemy of Pedantry

PRESERVED SMITH

FOR pedantry—scientific, theological, and philological—Erasmus expressed supreme contempt. In words reminiscent of Lucian's jibes at the "sky-men" in the *Icaromenippus* the author of *The Praise of Folly* ridiculed those who thought they could measure sun, moon, and stars as with a tape, that they could explain the cause of thunder and eclipses, and who pretended to be, what Eusebius had called Aristotle, "Nature's private secretaries." Still worse were the theological and philosophical pedants who resolved such problems as the exact manner of the conception of Jesus, the method of transubstantiation, whether there can be horsiness without a horse, and who invented such terms as "*quidditas*" and "*haecceitas*." Worst of all were the philologians who wasted their time in the study of minutiae or in the pursuit of a super-classical style:

> When any one has found out who was the mother of Anchises, or has lighted on some old, unusual word, such as 'bubsequus, bovinator, maniculator,' or other like obsolete, far-fetched terms, or can, after a great deal of poring, spell out the inscription of some battered monument, good Heavens! what joy, what triumph, what congratulations upon his success, as if he had conquered Africa, or taken Babylon the Great.

The worst abuse of pedantry Erasmus found in the Ciceronians of his own time who, having nothing to say, spent a life of morbid toil in the endeavor to say that nothing in the Latinity of Tully. Ever since the age of Jerome there had been men calling themselves Ciceronians who would admit no standard of style except that set by the practice of their master. After Valla and Poliziano had in vain assailed their pedantry Erasmus demolished them in the finest of all his satires, the *Ciceronian Dialogue*, written with all the humor of Pascal and with all the learning of Bentley. In this he describes the *précieux ridicules* of the 16th century who disguised the whole of modern civili-

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zation in the Roman toga. Their pens, like magic wands, transformed aldermen into consuls, cardinals into conscript fathers, burgers into quirites, Christian faith into persuasion, baptism into a sacred bath and the Holy Ghost into the breath of the celestial zephyr. They were the men who, like Nizzoli and Dolet, made great lexicons of Cicero's phrases, who modelled every sentence on one of his periods and who tortured the language into horrible periphrases in order to avoid speaking directly of such things as printing-presses and guns by their modern names.

If such was Erasmus' opinion of scholarship pursued for its own sake what was his actual practice? His achievement was vast in extent but very uneven in quality. Unfortunately for his reputation as a critic and editor his best-known work was also his poorest. Every one who knows his name at all knows that he published the New Testament in Greek; few but specialists realise how inadequately, from the modern critic's vantage-point, it was done. So imperfect was his knowledge of paleography that, though the oldest manuscript he used originated in the late Middle Ages, he thought it came from the apostolic era. The gross errors incorporated in his text were long perpetuated and have become notorious. Having no manuscript at hand containing the last six verses of the Apocalypse he supplied them by translating them from the Latin, making thirty mistakes in a dozen lines of Greek. Nor were his efforts to elucidate the text more happy than was his labor to establish it. He thought Neapolis (a port near Philippi in Macedonia) a town in Caria; he spoke of the Herodians as soldiers of Herod the Great; and he followed Jerome in thinking the second gospel an abridgment of the first and in supposing that Clement of Rome was the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews. His new translation and his notes were motivated by ethical, not by strictly scientific, purposes. He translated and commented not chiefly to explain linguistic and historical difficulties but to enforce his own religious eudemonism, to prove that the philosophy of Christ was nearly identical with the philosophy of Plato and Cicero.

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Nevertheless it must be recognized that he did something to castigate the text and something to clarify its meaning. He noted that the last eight verses of Mark's gospel were missing in some manuscripts and the passage on the woman taken in adultery in others. Not finding the seventh verse of the fifth chapter of the first epistle of John (as we divide the text) in any manuscript he omitted it. At times his translations were inspired by a brilliant insight into the meaning of the Greek, as where he substituted "Improve your lives" for "Repent ye" in Matthew III, 2.

The New Testament, done in haste and without sufficient preparation is, as already said, the most unfavorable example that one could take in estimating Erasmus' erudition and critical acumen. His editions of the Latin classics and of the Latin fathers are not only vast in extent but in general excellent in quality. In these days, when every scholar devotes a lifetime to a single author, or to very few, it seems incredible that a man in the 16th century should have published and edited fifteen Latin classics and twelve Greek as well as a whole patrologia of the ancient Christian doctors. At that time, when editions were scarce and extremely faulty, it seemed more important to offer the public a large amount of reading matter than to seek a high perfection by concentration on a very narrow field. Not that Erasmus was unconscious of the value and necessity of minute textual criticism. His own words constitute the apology of every careful editor: "I labor over the smallest matters because trifles make perfection; I am careful with minutiae, because they have important consequences." The high success which he often attained as an editor of the Latins was due in part to his imperial command of classic and patristic literature and in part to an instinctive sense of style. Among the pagan classics his finest work was in the edition of Seneca's tragedies and *De Clementia* (to which last Calvin appended a famous commentary). In the text of this author, as previously printed, Erasmus introduced no less than 4000 corrections, most of them good.

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But his very best work was in the field of patristics. His familiarity with the subject matter and his command of the language used by the great fathers have never been excelled. Probably no one editor, not even Migne, has done as much as he did to establish the correct texts of these authors. His conjectural emendations were at times of extreme brilliance. The one on which he prided himself the most (though it was only one of many) was the restoration of "*auxesin faciens*" for "*aures inficiens*" in Arnobius. His sense of style led him to the detection of several current forgeries. He first pointed out that the *Opus imperfectum in Matthaeum* circulated under the name of Chrysostom was an Arian forgery; he first proved that the Commentary on the Thirteen Epistles of St. Paul, then attributed to Jerome, could not have been written by that saint. It is now known to have been written by Pelagius—a fact first established by Professor A. Souter in 1922.

From the scholarly standpoint Erasmus' masterpiece was his edition of Jerome, his favorite Christian author. The nine volumes of this saint's works are not only well edited, according to the best modern standards, but are made the basis for what is certainly the most penetrating and reliable life of Jerome written before the 20th century. From a fresh study of the authentic sources Erasmus disengaged the saint's life from the fables that then adhered to it, exhibited his thought, defended his style and placed him securely in the environment of his age. In this first and almost best of modern biographies Erasmus attained so nearly to the definitive that almost all his judgments have been confirmed by later research.

Such scholarly achievements as these gave Erasmus a large part of the immense fame that he enjoyed in his own day. All the prestige that now goes to science then went to philology. Nowadays we look to the physicist and biologist to tell us where we came from, where we are going, what we are and what we should do. Our ethics, our politics, our economics and our daily life either are, or affect to be, founded on science. Science absorbs the great intellectual effort of our contemporaries; and

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science holds out such hope as we may have of making a happy society. In the Renaissance, ethics, politics, religion and daily life were regulated by the classics. The golden age was in the past. The last word of wisdom, of beauty and of truth had been spoken by the geniuses of Greece and Rome or by the inspired prophets and apostles of the Hebrews. The humanist was then the oracle of fate and the arbiter of opinion; and of all humanists Erasmus was supreme. In the minutiae of erudition he was surpassed by Budé and perhaps by others among his contemporaries. In the interpretation of the classics, both pagan and Christian, in the application of their lessons to the needs of humanity, he stood supreme in his own generation and perhaps first in all generations.

The three great ideals that inspired his life, gave it consistent nobility and great value to others, were peace, culture and Christian eudemonism. All of these ideals were founded in antiquity; all were remolded to meet the needs of the world he lived in. To politics, to religion and to education he applied the lessons he had learned from the great poets and philosophers of antiquity. To ensure peace he advocated a great international society with a court of arbitration to settle disputes between its various members. His writings on politics were deeply colored by the thought of Plato, Aristotle, Cicero and many other ancient publicists. Though, in deference to the constitution of the Holy Roman Empire, he declared for elective monarchy as the best form of government, his private preference was for a freer society, something like that of the Athenian or Roman republics, as they were then idealized. This form of government he found most nearly realized in his own day in the aristocratic republics of the German and Swiss free cities.

His religious ideal, too, was founded on the primitive church, as he understood it. In the gospels and ancient doctors there was, he thought, little or no superstition, no intolerance, not much insistence on dogma. Instead he found therein a gentle and humane "philosophy of Christ," a creed of simple faith in God and the Saviour, an ethics of universal love and kindness, a

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liturgy of beauty and a literature of sublime poetry and eloquence. Not to dispute about articles of faith, still less to put men to death for doubting this or that, but to enjoy the Church's ritual, to cultivate moral taste, to enrich lives by imbibing the spirit of the evangelists seemed to him the essence of religion. To seek the saints not in their relics but in their writings; to prove devotion to Jesus not by persecuting Jews and heretics but by converting them; to draw men to piety by love rather than to drive them to it by anathema and fire—such was the essence of Erasmus' gospel. It was, he thought, not far from the best teachings of the noble Cicero and of "Saint Socrates."

The ordeal of Erasmus' religious principles came with the Reformation, when that great, earth-born Titan Martin Luther rebelled against the old gods and hurled them from their thrones. While Luther attacked superstitions and abuses, "the tiara of the popes and the bellies of the monks," Erasmus applauded him. When the division of Christendom threatened the peace of the world Erasmus labored with all his might to reconcile the two parties and to find a peaceful and comprehensive solution of their differences. When Luther advanced "gigantic paradoxes" and threatened to subvert the whole fabric of the church Erasmus turned against him and cast in his lot with the old religion. How can one save a man, he groaned, who acts as if he wanted to be roasted alive? What fruit of love, joy and peace is ripened by preaching death to the pope and damnation to the monks? Where Lutheranism triumphs, he charged, tumults break forth, war and massacre ensue, and learning dies.

If the political and religious purposes of Erasmus looked back to the ages of Pericles, Cicero, and St. Paul, still more did his ideal of personal culture and of the good private life rest on the firm basis of the classics. Few men have ever known and still fewer ever enjoyed and assimilated the classics as did he. Next to the "*philosophia Christi*," "*bonae literae*" were nearest to his heart. His neglect of modern languages, which would be inexcusable in a classicist of today, was pardonable in his own age. What English writer, except Chaucer, who lived before 1500

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has any of us read? What French writer? What German? To the humanists, at least outside Italy, all the precious lore of time and all the beauty of poetry and of fine prose was to be found in Latin and Greek. They were the instruments and the touchstones of culture. "*Humanitas*" then meant "culture"; the humanists were the men who sought and who found culture in the writers of Athens and of Rome and who could then have found it nowhere else. To steep oneself in the writings of Cicero and Virgil, of Homer and Plato, was then deemed the true road to a good and a happy life.

The true humanist must not only passively absorb culture; he must add to it, create it, and diffuse it himself. Of all men who have written in Latin since the death of Augustine Erasmus contributed most to the stock of the world's literature. In his commentaries and paraphrases one gets, not indeed the best scientific exegesis, but the best interpretation of the ancient thought in modern terms. In his numerous essays on pedagogy and on style one gets the best apology for a classical education and the best advice on how to attain it. In his *Handbook of a Christian Knight* and in his *Discussion of Free Will* one gets the best program for an ethical, undogmatic, practical, and happy piety. Outstanding among all his works are the *Praise of Folly* and the *Colloquies*. The former is the gentlest satire ever penned. The whip in the hand of Juvenal, of Swift, and of a Sinclair Lewis has turned into a feather with which to tickle mankind and make it laugh at its own foibles. Folly is no longer a vice to be scourged but an amiable weakness to be indulged and ever so gently turned to good account. The *Colloquies* are little stories told with such consummate art that many famous dramatists and novelists—Rabelais, Ben Jonson, Sardou, Margaret of Navarre, Walter Scott and Charles Reade, for example—have borrowed plots and incident from them. Each has a little moral lesson, not obtruded but insinuated with such art as to make it imperceptible, like those drugs administered in sugar pills. Almost all the stories tell of real incidents in the life of the author or of his friends. Nor can one omit his letters from the list of

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his major writings. These epistles tell stories, paint exquisite portraits, enounce delicate literary criticisms, give good hints for the conduct of life, and apologize (a little too much, perhaps) for the writer's actions and opinions.

That Erasmus was one of the great stylists of the world will be admitted by all who can read him freely in the original. Few men have ever worked more conscientiously and more intelligently for a style; and still fewer have achieved it in so large a measure. Erasmus told his pupils how to write well; and then, unlike many other teachers, did it himself. The sentence structure is the clearest possible; the choice of vocabulary is exquisite; the use of antithesis, idiom, meiosis, emphasis and metaphor is perfect. The taste and quality of the Latinity eludes description. It is so delicately flavored with classic reminiscence, and yet so individual. It is at times so epigrammatic and so witty, and at other times so soft and so subtle. If Addison had had the wit of Voltaire and the subtlety of Henry James he might have written like Erasmus. The combination of such irreconcilables is impossible? Yes; but Erasmus achieved it.

As the style, so was the man. As there is little tragedy, little abstruse thought, and little passion in his books, so there is neither great heroism nor great holiness in his life. But it was a good life, even as the books that flowed from it were good. That beautiful, delicate face, that subdued smile, those kindly eyes, that pensive forehead, as seen in Holbein's portraits, proclaim the character of one who had lived a life in the high company of the ancient sages. A man who abhorred violence and sought peace, who cultivated a taste for good wine, good books, good friends, and good morals, a man who looked at his fellow men with mild amusement and constant benevolence, a man who preferred to win an opponent rather than to crush him, a man who labored as hardly any one has ever labored to give the world the best that is to be found in prose and the most beautiful that is hidden in poetry—such was the great Erasmus whose name, four hundred years after his death, we so much honor and so much love.

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The Battle of the Books Today

HOWARD R. PATCH

YEARS ago when Professor Emile Legouis of the Sorbonne was visiting Harvard University he gave an introductory lecture which consisted in an exposition of the method of French scholarship. There are two types of scholars, said he, and then he proceeded to describe on the one hand the cautious student of research, called scientific by his friends and dry-as-dust by his enemies, and on the other hand the brilliant generalizer and literary critic whose friends see his writing as a fine art but whose enemies condemn him as a dilettante. Now, concluded Professor Legouis, we of the French intellectual world try to combine the best of both schools. At the end of the lecture President Lowell walked down the steps of the amphitheater, greeted his French guest, and gravely introduced to him, first Professor George Lyman Kittredge and secondly Professor Irving Babbitt. Humor seemed to lurk for a moment in the atmosphere of dignity; many in the audience must have made the tacit assumption that an example of each type had been here brought forward with that admirable form of tact which includes mischief.

Yet the irony of the situation depended rather on the fact that both Professor Kittredge and Professor Babbitt might have been said to combine—to a different degree no doubt but none the less genuinely—the "best of both schools." It is hard to remember that persons are not always personifications of something or other. Each generation identifies its typical "Germanic" scholar and its cultivator of *belles-lettres*. Sides are drawn up and between them the battle goes on, extending very likely to faculty and faculty meeting when questions of curriculum are involved. In the history of education the strangest phenomenon is the perennial recurrence of this conflict. Is the student to be permitted to get by with a knowledge that goes no further back than Shakespeare, or perhaps 1800, or perhaps—it is possible, nay actual

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today—even 1900? On the other hand if his approach to the subject must be linguistic and etymological will his feeling for literature itself be dulled and his attitude in reading become professional, thus ceasing to be in the best sense (as it should be) amateurish?

The terms in the controversy are familiar enough and we know what both sides have to say. But when teachers are retained as eminently successful in the classroom even if they do not "produce," or others hold their posts because of their numerous monographs despite bored classes, one hears a turmoil of defense or opposition with the old catchwords "pedant," "popularizer," "collector of footnotes" and the like, as if the issues were not yet made clear and as if the battle-hymn of the republic had to be sung through once more, the voices a little cracked and the muskets a little rusty. Surely we do not need to refurbish the platitudes and admit that no one wants either a pedant or a superficial critic, that we do want teachers but want them well trained and properly equipped, and that no one wants the critic's perception to lose its edge while he spends his time digging up linguistic roots. What then is the reason for this constant warfare, which from its vitality would appear to go beyond a clash of theory and find its basis in temperament?

From observation one may conclude that in each camp appeal is made to prejudice, and that a common understanding is reached only through something higher than reason. For the literary man it is simply useless to argue with the student of research; he cannot understand, that is all. He must be outvoted. To the scientific mind the literary man is logically irresponsible; he pursues a whimsy beyond reach. So politics are sharpened and cliques formed. But exclusiveness may assume the importance of a menace. Our modern hunger for peace leads one to hope that even these differences in the theory of education may be reconciled. So far there has been little attempt in that direction and the attempt, such as it is, has done little except to bewilder everybody by invective; and yet it is not preposterous to think that someday round-table discussion will be started or even

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that institutes will be formed to settle some of the preliminaries. Perhaps one cannot expect to arrive at a final answer but it will be a relief if the conflict may shift its ground.

The first point I would suggest has already been hinted at—that the difficulty is based on temperament. One man feels that art is injured and fails of its purpose if scientific instruments are applied to measure its effects; another hopes to check the inaccuracy of his emotions, or perhaps only that of his memory, with card-catalogs and careful notes. Only taste and see, says the critic, and has awful ideas of what the scientific man intends to do with emotion recollected in tranquillity. But more to be considered than the lover of fine arts, who is the critic, and more than the artist, who is the writer often described as "creative," are the numerous readers whose approach has little if anything to do with art. They cannot be banished as Philistines nor can we fairly treat them as such. They include the historians, the sociologists, and economists, even the men of science, who turn to literature for evidence upon a special side of man and his preoccupations. And although personally we may dislike some sociologists or psychologists we cannot forbid them to enjoy this privilege; indeed if we are narrow enough we may hope that they will be benefited by what they see. They certainly have a right to ask that the subject be made clearer than is usual in the purely literary approach. In fact the psychologist will demand a redefinition of the literary approach itself, showing that while the writer and the reader work to create the artistic experience, in most cases they rely not only on the poem in question but also on all sorts of outside information. Thus annotation must be admitted and then there's the devil and all to pay! That is, we must not only deal with those students who hope to enjoy literature as a form of art; in our schools and colleges we also have to satisfy, in all justice, the future historians, sociologists, psychologists, and the like who have their own ulterior motives in their reading. We have to lead people not only to new vision but also to new facts—or facts new to them.

But some of us balk. We do not care to turn one of the fine

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arts into fodder for the historian or the scientist. We are finer grained than that—only one remove indeed from the "creative artist." That, however fair the protest, simply means that the teacher in question limits what he cares to do for his class. He may urge that what he gives us is the best or that no one can really offer more than one kind of thing, but he has no right to insist that no other kind of thing is worth offering. In staking out his claim in this fashion he reveals the fact that he is this kind of man. His literary approach seems to him the best because he is an artist in temperament. Such a teacher will examine the drama or the novel with special attention to style or poetry or technique. At his best he reveals the soul of literature whereas the scientific approach deals only with externals. But he has no right to disdain externals; for they have importance in his task and may have a further importance which the man of letters is not fitted to estimate. Others may find in literature signs of political upheaval or social change that have much to tell about the confusions and development of the soul of man. A student of research, for example, may find in the literature of the 17th century the immensely broadening and deepening effect of the new use of the telescope; or he may properly feel impelled to look for the moral inspiration of Kant's categorical imperative in the 19th century. That is no study of literature, says the critic. But it is. To assert that the artist's approach is the only valid one is arbitrary, even stultifying if it depends, as I suspect it does, on some curious emotional twist in the romantic movement whereby men came to believe that art was a matter of intuitions and intuitions were holier than intellect. But even if we insist that art is superior to science because it reveals more important things—and we shall not stop to argue this point—the fact remains that science is something and that anyone who turns to literature to obtain facts has a right to do so. Moreover if he gets his facts truly and draws valuable inferences therefrom, he has done a good work. If he examines early English terminations and shows us how to read *Beowulf* or Chaucer, he serves the literary man as well.

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The fact is that the study of literature and the approach to literature require as many types of scholar and temperament as we can furnish. Disagreement among them has probably sprung from the fact that one sort has not recognized the validity of another. It has also sprung, however, from the fears of one type that his work will be betrayed by another. The critic fears that students will work with a pedant who will forever kill the love of literature in his class. And in this fear he is sometimes justified. But he forgets that an improperly equipped literary man, with all the enthusiasm in the world and an imperfect grasp of his subject, can also betray the masterpiece. The *Amenities of Literature* of the elder Disraeli are now little more than curiosities, partly because their facts are so often wrong. One thinks also of a teacher who was lauded as great "but misunderstood" because his classes liked him and yet he did not get his promotion. To find out where justice lay, outsiders went in to hear him lecture. Vehemently they announced that here was one more instance of academic pedantry—a fine teacher not recognized because he did not publish. But they were outsiders and did not know the field. The man unfortunately had brought out a small book which revealed to any informed person his shortcomings as to the facts he was teaching. Perhaps he conveyed new vision of the art of some poet but not the poet he and his class thought they were studying. Publication by a teacher thus furnishes tangible evidence of one side of his equipment. Its importance may be overemphasized, yes, but the real question now concerns the nature of the evidence which the teacher voluminously or otherwise sets before us. Does he know his facts? Can he interpret accurately? The literary critic needs to know something of æsthetic values. Each needs to know enough about the other's field to be at least aware of its reality. Too often students of research have not the slightest inkling what "literary" means. Trouble in the past has come when one of this type is pushed into the responsibility of teaching English composition; he suffers as well as his class. Or perhaps a literary critic has thwarted the progress of an honest and able student of research or sneered at

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his profession. When either type tries to dominate, asserting that the superiority he claims is inherent in the values he perceives, he may be right but the war is on. He must defend himself. At any rate we should understand the claims of others. It is they who are standing for a liberal education, and for that very freedom of approach which has always been necessary for the creation of art.

Another point, often overlooked, especially in the field of education, is that of the purpose of the whole elaborate process. With the increase in numbers being educated and in the multitudinous varieties of work open to them (until recently at least) curricula have been designed less and less with a particular purpose in mind. Who is to maintain that this course or that should have any special privilege, the radicals ask. Who indeed—until we can all agree on some coherent set of fundamentals? The bachelor of arts degree has more and more become a catchall, including in its offering what used to go with the degree of bachelor of science and that of bachelor of philosophy. It stands for a general education—indeed, as the irreverent say, it stands for almost anything. But the weakness has been discerned and attempts have been made to offset the manifest laxity of the complete elective system by majors and minors of various kinds, which constitute a form of specialization.

But why should every student of literature, even one who majors in the field, have anything like a "mastery" of the subject? The requirement in literature in some colleges seems adapted solely for the preparation of teachers, who presumably will go out, teach other teachers, and so on. Why should every student be obliged to study literature in more than one century? With the average young man or woman, who will probably not teach but go forth to another business or profession, there is no need for a comprehensive apparatus of facts about the literature of the 16th century and the 18th. Should not the chief point of training in literature be the awakening of artistic experience, that our youth of today may read literature for its own enjoyment and for no other reason? Why not turn the whole depart-

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ment of English over to the literary critics, who will skilfully and painlessly touch the imaginations and intuitions of the young? Better one teacher of this sort and one course in Shakespeare or Shelley or the recent moderns than a thousand harsh examples of the other kind. We have done enough if we have stirred one future lawyer or one business man to the enjoyment of good books.

The argument sounds plausible enough if it comes from a literary critic whose pen is keen. But it will not do. If a young student majors in literature he gains enormously by reading the works of more than one period and loses correspondingly in detachment as well as comprehension if he limits himself to one small group of authors. Taste is trained by sampling more than one jug. If the reader ignores the 17th century as being academic what about Donne? If he begins with the Elizabethan period what about Skelton? But those old authors require footnotes and *explication du texte* and soon a mass of erudition is let loose among us! And here is the ironic point—the moderns also need a labored exegesis. Much in fact that passes for literary criticism today really consists of interpretation and notes, like many of the essays on Eliot's *Waste Land* or many on Joyce's *Ulysses*.

The great difficulty then is not the burden of footnotes or linguistics or learning. If the pedant is heavy and his touch deadening, the voice of the critic trained only in æsthetic values is likely to be a little shrill. And the battle itself may be a good thing. Like the eternal war between conservative and radical, modernist and fundamentalist, classical and romantic, it may serve to explicate and to quicken. Each extreme feels that it has the saving formula, whereas the important feature is the tension. What a comforting thought that is, if true! But we at once suspect that the idea is too easy, too broad to be the right solution. If it should happen to be the right solution we can never admit the fact or the wholesome tension will relax and we shall be lost. We must speak on one side or the other—belletristic or belligerent or whatever our mood may be. Perhaps we must step into the conflict now and then to prevent heads being taken off.

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The American Scholar

In the study of literature the intellect, like Virgil in the *Divine Comedy*, can lead us only to the border of the Earthly Paradise. "Here have I brought thee with wit and art," says Virgil, shortly to bid his disciple farewell, "now take thy pleasure for guide." But Dante could not forget the guide who had taken him thus far. After all, most of us are partly Philistine and our concerns must needs be of a slightly lower order than those of the holy plain.

Siege

KILE CROOK

Times Square is stone and bronze and glaze
And wheels on asphalt and a blaze
Of light where unseen pappi drift. . . .
Twin sumachs, finding lodgment, lift
A brick on Christopher Street. . . .

The phlox
Has withered in your window box
But through a crack in the court cement
A grass blade, meek and violent,
Lifts up pale green, sinks firm roots down. . . .
Relentless siege is on the town.
The prying surge against your piers
Floats bulbs and burrs and vital spears
Of rooted reeds. . . .

The long attack
Will loose those rivets, will win back
Preempted soil, the smothered ground;
The steel-clinched clay shall be unbound.

(I know a still, New England wood
Where once a thrifty hamlet stood;
Where oaks and thickening maples stand.)
Concrete your shores and sheath your land
But still the acorn shall be peril
To all your towers, steel and sterile.
Build firmly!
(Vines are matted on
What were the streets of Babylon.)

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Science Imminent, By not For Man

C. C. FURNAS

WITHIN a few years a new, 200-inch reflecting telescope will be catching infinitesimal light quanta on top of Mount Palomar and will be directing them to super-sensitive photographic plates. Then after many months of eye-straining measurements Dr. Hubble and his colleagues may be able to tell us how it is with the fringes of the universe. There will be excitement in the astronomical societies of the world for visible space will immediately be extended three- or four-fold. But even if this Behemoth should solve all the riddles of interstellar space it would affect the average man but very little, for the joys of astronomical knowledge are available to only a few. But there will be other technical advantages which will change the course of human events most decidedly. The inventor's act is far from being finished. Before many years Sikorskys, Martins, Douglases, Boeings (under other names perhaps) will put regular transocean air-travel on every worth while shore. Larger dirigibles under new Eckeners will lumber gracefully around the ocean squalls. The "it-can't-be-done" critics of air travel will all be laid carefully away and the well-ballyhooed new era of transportation will really be with us. These things are now almost self evident.

Additional items of even greater importance are still buried under a mass of technical literature; others are as yet only pleasant flickers in the minds of ingenious men. Close-coupled with some of these mechanical ingenuities are some sociological concepts which indicate that our inventors may be our best statesmen.

On the tenth floor of one of New York's 42nd Street office buildings are to be found the two men and the stenographer of Hazelett Metals, Inc., a corporation formed to promote the metallurgical inventions of young, sociologically-minded C. W.

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Hazelett. His organization centers around a device for the rolling of finished strips of sheet directly, in a single step, from a bath of molten metal. The equipment has proven very successful in the rolling of metals of low melting point. It eliminates a great deal of machinery and processing now used to cast metal into ingots, reheat, and roll step by step. It is a potential labor-saver of no mean proportions. Moreover the product is in some respects better than that produced by present methods, for the metal has not been mechanically maltreated as much as in conventional processes. The apparatus has been used to a considerable extent in Germany and recently a mill for the rolling of copper and brass was shipped from this country to Japan. Several American companies have been licensed to roll copper by this method. The largest brass mill in Waterbury, Connecticut has the sole American rights on the device for the rolling of brass and has produced over a million pounds of strip in this manner. This process has also been used with fair success for the rolling of aluminum as well as certain grades of steel. No bystander can be certain yet that all technical difficulties will be overcome and that this method of preparing molten metals for fabrication will eventually be universally utilized but it certainly is in the realm of possibility. If it is widely used this invention will rank in importance with the Bessemer and open-hearth processes of steel-making, introduced after much scoffing and experimentation a couple of generations ago. It will mean a great deal of obsolescence of processes and machines and a considerable amount of technological unemployment. Thus though it would bring about a lower-priced metal for the consumer it would bring considerable temporary distress to a great many people, just as many other labor-saving devices have done. This maladjustment of men is a social problem not yet erased though often whitewashed.

Perhaps more significant than the invention is the social attitude of the man back of it. He is mightily concerned about the state of the nation and has "spent more time in trying to solve the general problem of unemployment than in the making of

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strip metal directly from molten metal." These efforts have culminated in a small volume entitled *Incentive Taxation*, at first privately published, but brought out recently by E. P. Dutton's. The validity of the ideas is of less importance than the revelation of a growing sense of social responsibility among inventors, an attitude incomprehensible to geniuses of the Edison school.

In 1927 the Right Reverend Edward Arthur Burroughs created an academic furor by requesting the scientists of the world to go on a holiday for ten years in order to give the world an opportunity to catch up. The ten years are almost over and the world has not shown the slightest indication of a willingness to follow his advice—not even for a moment, much less for ten years. The remedy for a sick world that lags behind certainly does not consist in plugging up the source of knowledge; but the problem of maladjustments which the Reverend Mr. Burroughs was trying to solve still remains. Perhaps the true solution rests in the brand of altruism which Mr. Hazelett displays. Nor is he the only inventor who thinks that perhaps inventions should be used for the good of many rather than for the profit of one. There are others.

Down in Memphis, Tennessee the Rust brothers, John and Mack, have a cotton picker on exhibition. Ten more have been made and were successfully used for the harvesting of a considerable number of bales of cotton during the season just closed. The picker is not yet entirely satisfactory—it takes in too much trash, leaves and dirt, with the cotton. But there is every reason to believe that in a short time the Rust brothers will have a picker that is entirely satisfactory. Since the Civil War 750 patents have been granted on cotton pickers and until now not one has been successful. The International Harvester Company says the Rust brothers' device is just another failure —and they ought to know for they have a picker on which they have spent millions of dollars—and for which they have found no sales. But if experimental evidence means anything the Rust device is one apart—the first model of a truly successful picker.

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If it lives up to its promises the South will soon be burdened with the backs and hands of at least a million human pickers for whom there will no longer be any technical reason for existence. They are facing a ruin worse than any they have ever known—or are they?

The Rust brothers have pondered all of this. Sometimes they probably even hope their experiments will fail, so that they cannot be accused of bringing starvation to the South. They have steadily refused to sell any of the machines they make, but will license them for use. When earnings begin to be realized an organization (non-profit) will be formed to finance in some other line of activity those share-croppers displaced by the machine. It sounds very beautiful but the chances are that the plans for social alleviation will not work as well as the mechanical picker. The Rust brothers realize this but they are determined to give both a trial.

Whether this device stands or falls, or whether that social-aid scheme really works, is not nearly so important as the rise of these non-profit organizations imbued with the idea of social responsibility. Let the old-school industrialist who scoffs at such childish tricks suggest something better.

This sociological point of view is not merely a young man's fancy. There are experienced old-timers who feel and act in the same way. In some back-yard shacks of the American University in Washington D. C. there is housed the cooperative effort known as Research Associates, Inc., with the scholarly Dr. Frederick G. Cottrell as head of this non-profit organization. He is best known as the inventor and promoter of the Cottrell precipitator, a device which by electrostatic attraction cleans gases of fine particles of dust or dirt, saving chemical and metallurgical industries many millions of dollars per year. He was also one of the principal figures in the direction of the research which lay behind the industrial production of fixed nitrogen in this country.

Dr. Cottrell is a firm believer in the full life for all and although he wishes that the more selfish departments of our in-

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dustrial economy were somehow different from what they are he does not believe they should be thrown aside. Perhaps what competing capitalistic organizations need is a little more competition. The purpose of Research Associates, Inc. is to provide this competition by conducting research and developmental work on equipment or processes which are now hopeless infants but have possibilities of ultimate benefit for that helpless person —the consumer. The fees paid by the sponsors of individual projects cover the cost of the research—and something more. Any profits are plowed back into more researches.

A "sure thing" does not interest Dr. Cottrell for it can stand on its own merits—he prefers the hundred-to-one shot that must be mothered and sponsored. A few stillborns do not worry him in the least for those are only attendant necessities in the process of bringing things to life. The subjects of research undertaken by his organization range from a new kind of preheating device for metallurgical industries to a method of producing electrical energy directly from natural gas. He is harboring quite a supply of industrial dynamite in the form of processes which may produce aluminum metal more cheaply than the Aluminum Company of America is now doing it. Although there is 50 per cent more aluminum than iron in the earth's surface it costs about 20 cents per pound compared to less than one cent a pound for iron. There are perfectly good technical and business reasons why it should cost that much but there may be better reasons why it shouldn't. Dr. Cottrell's organization is going to find out. These new processes may be more effective as threats than as producers but in either case it is almost certain that the price of aluminum is going to come down so sharply within the next few years that all who wish may sit on aluminum chairs (of any desired color) and work at aluminum desks.

Dr. Cottrell is not only interested in carrying inventions through their growing pains. He wants to see consumer benefits. He is actively interested in promoting the production of cheap phosphate fertilizer by the most modern methods. A non-profit

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organization could make and sell such fertilizer at considerably less than current prices. Dr. Cottrell's hope is to be able to sell a product to farmers' cooperative buying organizations and thus give directly to the consumer whatever social advantage there might be in such a scheme. He thinks that the cure for the evils of invention is more invention to give more products, more jobs, and higher standards of living.

There is now an immense laboratory into which a large number of millions of dollars are being poured to demonstrate that economic injustices can be righted by the organized cooperative application of technical knowledge. That laboratory is the Tennessee Valley. "T.V.A." have been fighting initials to power companies for some months now. The claims of unfair competition from the Federal Government may all be true but the vociferousness on this point tends to hide the real objective of the Authority. In a number of ways the benefits of invention are to be brought to the people of the Valley. One of these ways is the building up of the seriously depleted soil. Along with several other chemical-engineering problems this calls for technical improvements which will permit the inexpensive production of fertilizers. Carrying the sincere hopes of many a chemical manufacturer that he would fail, Dr. Harry Curtis took the job of Chief Chemical Engineer of the Tennessee Valley Authority. Refusing to be hindered or distressed by bad wishes or politics, he has constructed a plant at Wilson Dam, Alabama and has demonstrated by the manufacture of a great many thousands of tons of super-phosphate that it is feasible to use cheap electric power to manufacture inexpensive concentrated fertilizers. The Victor Chemical Works at Nashville, Tennessee has for several years been making phosphoric acid from phosphate rock in a blast furnace similar to the kind used to make pig iron. Between them these two methods can and probably will revolutionize the production of phosphate fertilizers in this country.

The discussion thus far has dealt with recent technical advances which have been tied in with some one's sociological

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ideal. Some men wonder how technological unemployment can be alleviated if the new inventions materialize successfully. Others turn their eyes in another direction and contrive means of furthering invention in order to give the consumer more direct benefits, the assumption being that such a course will bring the greatest good to the greatest number. Some of the philosophies advanced are probably sound, others are probably erroneous. The correctness of our policies of today is not as important as the fact that the technical world is awakening to its social responsibilities. It must be left for future generations to judge whether or not our policies are successfully meeting our problems. The tangles of the past are relatively simple compared with those of the future. Every technical change brings about maladjustments, more or less serious depending on the number of people involved. Much more is involved than mere unemployment or the lowering of price to consumers. New processes may destroy the capital investments of sleeping corporations; they render men and equipment obsolete; they uproot whole industries and ways of life. To date, invention and scientific discovery have kept to the black side of the ledger; they have been credits to civilization. We should like to keep them there.

The discussion now swings to a few items of technical or scientific advance which probably will be of prime importance to the coming generation, but which are not attached to anyone's philosophy of social improvement. Along with forthcoming benefits will come many maladjustments that can hardly be disregarded.

The probability of more widespread use of phosphate fertilizer was pointed out above, but phosphate is only one of the big-three agricultural fertilizers. The other constituents are becoming available in concentrated form and at lowered prices. In New Mexico and Texas there is a rapidly expanding industry producing concentrated potash salts. Utah and Wyoming have similar possibilities. Chemically pure ammonia, made from the nitrogen of the air, is on the market in unlimited

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quantities at less than five cents a pound. In the future these three chemical compounds will be increasingly used as inexpensive concentrated fertilizers to make each acre do what two used to do.

One of the most important organizations in the study of the mysteries of plants is the Boyce Thompson Institute for Plant Research at Yonkers, New York. This well-endowed organization is doing many striking things by way of asking plants "why do you behave the way you do," but the most intriguing item of all is its study of growth-inducing compounds. Starting with a group of materials called "auxins" the experimenters have shown that minute traces of certain chemicals make plants grow as they never knew how before. To dealers in plant growth this is considerably more than interesting.

Three hundred years ago someone grew a willow tree, in apparently pure water, to the age of five years. Anyone can do almost as well with Wandering Jew in a tumbler of water by a kitchen window. The idea of using water culture with scientific refinements was taken up commercially seven years ago in California. One Dr. W. F. Gericke of the University of California has been the chief experimenter. His plants are set in a bed of excelsior or moss spread on a wire screen tightly stretched over shallow tanks. The water in the tanks contains compounds of the ten chemical elements known to be most essential for plant growth. In this set-up potatoes have yielded at the rate of 2400 bushels per acre and tomatoes have turned in a performance of 217 tons per acre with the vines growing to a height of 25 feet—which is inconvenient and quite remarkable, even for California.

Working behind a variety of excuses such as national defense, power production, flood control, and relief for the unemployed, Federal agencies have for a number of years been building dams for irrigation projects. When they are supplied with ample water the western acres show astonishing productivity. Presumably the destitute people on semi-arid areas will be moved to the irrigated valleys and the marginal lands will

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revert to cow country. When these heterogeneous items are herded together they very clearly state: Within the next 25 years American agriculture is going to be much more productive both per acre and per man than it is at present. Just how this tendency can be correlated with a program for limiting production only the Department of Agriculture can say. That particular agency, however, is ambidextrous, and its right does not need to know the doings of its left. Despite all Departments we are headed for an agricultural evolution that will really amount to something. The land is going to become more productive because these chemical reactions which we call plant growth are becoming better understood and are going to be brought under control. Labor-saving machines, when universally used on the farms, will increase the present production per worker by many fold.

What is the answer? Will the agricultural population decrease to a mere skeleton force with crops restricted to known needs?

One potent group of industrialists says: No, that is not the answer. The farm is a boundless source of raw chemicals. If production is free and unhampered and prices are low, chemical industry will utilize endless amounts of agricultural products.

At present The Commercial Solvents Corporation ferments off-grade corn to make lacquer solvents, the Quaker Oats Company, besides feeding the Dionne Quintuplets every morning, produces furfural from oat hulls for oil refining, the Celotex Company makes wall-board from sugar-cane waste. The counters of Woolworth's are covered with plastic dishes made from the casein of surplus milk, and the Ford Company puts 15 to 20 pounds of soy beans into the lacquers and plastics of each of its cars. If all these activities and more like them were multiplied by a hundred-fold, the farm would be primarily a source of raw materials for chemical industry. There is at least one group intent on speeding the farmer toward his destiny. Perhaps they hold the answer.

Despite the leaders, the cooperative movement between agri-

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culture and industry will succeed and the production of raw materials for industries, instead of being a mere tail, may become the principal part of the dog. Cotton as a binder for bitumen-surfaced roads may become as important as dresses. Panels made of soy-bean plastics backed by insulating boards made of cornstalks may become the interior surface of our houses. A long list of the industrially usable organic acids can be made from starchy plants. There are now several hundred possibilities for the industrial uses of farm products and future research will reveal hundreds more. It must be emphasized that this market cannot be reached by restricted production and high prices. It will only become a factor when the farmer produces abundantly, efficiently and at prices considerably lower than those quoted at present. This changing technology will mean a shift in population, changes in land values, and improvement in methods of production. Even if the market for farm products expands a great deal there will still be too many people on farms. Industry must find means of absorbing part of the present farm population. It will be directly opposed to all A. A. A. and other agricultural-aid, political philosophies; but the efficient, industrial farm will come, to the ultimate benefit of every consumer. There will be many a technological-unemployment struggle along the way and, it is to be feared, much politics.

Within the next 25 years, or even before, our petroleum resources will be well on the way out the door unless something is done about it. If the national gasoline tank should suddenly go empty America could hardly survive. The Farm Chemurgic Council says that alcohol from farm products is the answer, but whenever you hear anyone state that alcohol can be produced from agricultural materials for less than 10 cents a gallon you have positive proof that he is a politician looking for the farm vote. According to the unbiased experts the actual cost per gallon lies between 25 and 35 cents. At the present time the refinery price of gasoline is 5 to 6 cents a gallon. It takes more than an optimist to bridge that price gap. The next 25 years may see alcohol come in as a motor fuel under legislative clubs,

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but if it does it will see it go out too. The Farm Chemurgic Council (meaning not clear) and the Chemical Foundation, which are most interested in giving the farmer what he needs whether he wants it or not, are basing most of their present campaign on advocation of a blend of grain alcohol. This is inherently unsound, for alcohol is necessarily much more expensive than motor fuel from any one of several sources.

There are other things that will be done about our gasoline supply. First, appreciable quantities of gasoline can be obtained by the polymerization of some fractions of natural gas. This practice will be greatly increased. Second, more and more vigorous efforts will be taken to get all the petroleum out of the ground, for when a well goes dry over half the original oil is still left in. Third, we will begin calling on the billions of tons of oil shale (containing up to 15 per cent of petroleum) which we have in Colorado, Indiana and other states. Fourth, we will begin producing gasoline by the hydrogenation of coal, using some process similar to that based on the Bergius patents, the American rights to which are held by the Standard Oil Company of New Jersey. Exact figures are not known but it is very likely that motor fuel can be produced by the latter two methods at a refinery price of 15 to 20 cents per gallon. Make no mistake, motoring is going to be more expensive in the future than at present. Cars will grow smaller and we shall support fewer horsepower under the hood. And while we are steadily marching toward the day of expensive gasoline, millions of cubic feet of natural gas are being wasted in the oil fields every hour because its recovery is not profitable. It is one of the outstanding economic crimes of all times.

Whatever the source of motor fuel, our refineries will always create waste gases and some waste liquids useful only as by-products. The use of refinery materials as the starting-point for chemical synthesis is going to expand many, many fold in the coming decades. The Carbide and Carbon Chemical Corporation now uses waste refinery gases to make vinylite resin which goes into plastic dishes, false teeth dentures and toe caps for

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shoes, but principally into a lacquer for the lining of beer cans. Acetylene gas from petroleum gases could be produced very cheaply, to be used in the manufacture of artificial rubbers such as the du Pont Company's Duprene—a material so much better in some respects than natural rubber that until recently over a million pounds a month were being sold at $1.05 per pound. German competition from a similar material called Buna rubber brought the price down to 70 cents, with intimations of lower figures ahead. These artificial rubbers make superb tires and if the price comes down to the neighborhood of that of natural rubber (15 cents per pound) there will be another revolution in a basic industry and some natives of the Dutch East Indies will probably starve to death. It will not be at all surprising if future refineries not only produce motor fuel from petroleum-like products but also use their waste gases to make tires for cars. It is only the dollar sign that keeps them from doing it now.

The motor-car has done a great many things in the past three decades but probably the strangest trick was the dispatch of a chemical manufacturer to the sea in search of bromine. Bromine is used to make ethyl fluid which in turn is blended with gasolines to suppress fuel knock. A few years ago we were running short of bromine. On January 10, 1934 the Dow Chemical Company opened a plant at Wilmington, North Carolina to recover bromine from the sea, where it is present to the extent of 65 parts per million parts of water. This plant digests almost 50,000 gallons of sea water per minute. In the first two and one-half years of operation it produced over 20 million pounds of bromine worth about $7,000,000. In the water that passed over the weir in this period there were 5,500,000 tons of twelve other materials which would have brought in $166,000,000 had they been recovered. These materials ranged from magnesium sulfate (epsom salts) to gold. The gold was insignificant but there was almost $50,000,000 worth of magnesium metal that passed out with the tide. Now that bromine is being recovered commercially will the sea be harnessed to give up

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some of its other valuables? One small plant employing only a few men may be able to take from the sea products worth hundreds of millions annually—a treasure hunt picture that puts Captain Kidd's chests on a back seat. And it is not very far from reality. Perhaps the next quarter-century will see the tapping of that limitless mine which is the ocean.

This listing of important technical advances could go on indefinitely but it would become a mere catalog of events. The general idea is that we are entering an era of continually increased productivity of material objects. On the whole our resources are still adequate, and scientific ingenuity is just now beginning to pay accumulated dividends. It makes but little difference whether it is going to be good for the race or not; the trend of increased productivity will roll along oblivious to all social consequences. The average man a generation hence will probably be about the same uninteresting gentleman we now know. His improved material environment, with television, plastic walls, comfort, leisure and improved health have been described so often and so poorly that I do not feel called upon to add to the picture. The technologist will undoubtedly continue to give much to the race but the real advances still lie in the minds of men like those few of our modern inventors who wonder about the social consequences of their works. Their philosophy rather than their patents or scientific articles may be their best contributions. No one has yet solved the problems of human obsolescence, mass motivation or technological unemployment. Unless our sociological inventiveness can show great improvement in the next 25 years we will not have made much progress no matter how pleasant and comfortable the air-conditioned lives of a few of us may be. I do not mean to imply that to get out of the woods we must have a rigidly planned economy. The problem is much too complicated for that. The best plan in the world would be useless without the proper personnel, and with the proper personnel the plan, with its attending unpleasantness, is unnecessary. Education is far more important than coercion.

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Social Influences on Memory

MARJORIE VAN DE WATER

THE process of memory has been likened by psychologists to the recording of music on a phonograph record. The original event makes an impression or trace on the plastic nervous system, the focussed attention acting as the pointed needle to make the grooves. The recall is then but the playing over of this record which may be scratched or worn with time but which nevertheless reproduces in general the same tune engraved upon it long ago.

Such a view of memory has been disputed by a British psychologist, Professor F. C. Bartlett[1] of the University of Cambridge who in a series of experiments has brought to light many new facts regarding the processes involved in remembering—not the nonsense syllables which have bulked so large in previous experiments but the everyday material of life. His experiments indicate that the recall of a past event is not at all like the playing over of a wax record on which life has traced characteristic impressions. It is not a matter of producing from a mental cold storage warehouse some more or less well-preserved specimen. Very often when one of Professor Bartlett's subjects was asked to remember, the first thing to emerge was something in the nature of an attitude. The recall which followed was then a construction made largely on the basis of this attitude, and its general effect was that of a justification of the attitude. Remembering is thus a creative process just as is the composition of the most fanciful verse. It is hardly ever exact and need not be. On the contrary it may be expected to absorb color from the changing attitudes and maturing interests of the rememberer.

This new theory accounts for that vague feeling of dislike, suspicion and unpleasantness, or pleasure, interest, and liking sometimes felt upon encountering a person who is recognized but cannot be "placed." We search this curious feeling, try to link it with previous occasions, and then suddenly the person's identity pops into mind. "Why, of course I know you," we say to ourselves, "You are the fellow who was such good fun on that trip I made to

[1] The complete report of these experiments is contained in *Remembering*, by F. C. Bartlett, published by the Macmillan Company and the Cambridge University Press.

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Cuba," or, "You are that same kid who copied my examination questions in school."

The character of this attitude is responsible not alone for what is remembered but for what was perceived in the first place. In its turn the attitude is determined partly by the first general impression of the event or object to be remembered and partly by the personality of the rememberer, his interests, emotional make-up, past experiences, and the meaning the situation has for him. Even beyond the individual, his attitudes are determined by his social group.

Professor Bartlett began his memory experiments with tests of perception. Pictures, varying in complexity from extremely simple outlines of geometric designs to complex copies of paintings, were shown to the subjects for but 1/15 to 1/4 of a second. This brief glance at a design is comparable to the instantaneous view you have in ordinary life of any rapidly moving event such as a traffic accident.

With simple material the first reaction of the observer was to give a name to the design. This name then influenced both the perception and the memory. Those who named a certain simple outline figure a "pick-axe" reproduced it with prongs more pointed than the original. A subject who called it a "turf-cutter" put a rounded blade on it. One person called it partly a key and partly a shovel and changed the design accordingly. Six observers, calling it an "anchor," exaggerated the size of the ring at the top. Only once was the point in the blade correctly perceived; that was by an observer who called the design a "prehistoric battle-axe."

When a series of designs was presented, each a step more advanced in complexity than the previous, and all steps in the construction of one progressive design, the observers made a guess early in the series as to what the final result would be. This guess then influenced the perceptions of later designs in the series.

Observers, influenced by a general impression, tend to "see" details that are not present. Given a glance at a gate and wall with an illegible sign in the background, 80 per cent of Professor Bartlett's subjects "saw" on the sign the inscription, familiar on English roadsides, "Trespassers will be Prosecuted."

Usually some detail in the design or picture stood out and influenced what was perceived more than did other details. Such a detail might be a gap in the design, odd or disconnected features, plan of construction, placing of figures. "These dominant details are a kind of nucleus about which the rest cluster," Professor Bartlett commented. "They set the stage for remembering." Here character was found to enter in again. The confident subject was found to jus-

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tify himself by setting down much detail—more than was actually present. The cautious, hesitating person on the contrary diminished rather than increased the details.

Imagination was the subject of the second of Professor Bartlett's series of experiments, not because of this facility of the confident human for remembering more than he saw, but because of the inevitable link between memory, which is the ability to reproduce an event which has been experienced, and imagination, which is the ability to reproduce, in new forms that have had no previous existence, materials furnished us by experience.

You have probably many times amused yourself by idly picking out fanciful forms or pictures from the vague outlines of a curiously shaped cloud, the delicate and intricate patterns of glowing coal and leaping flame in a hearth fire, or odd outlines of a stain or smudge on wall or paper. The character of such pictures painted by your fancy has been found to reveal a great deal about your personality, interests, and even your educational opportunities and specialties.

Great was the variety of images aroused in Professor Bartlett's subjects by a series of colored ink blots, especially when the blot was very irregular in outline. The same blot that reminded one person of a camel looked to another like a dog worrying a tablecloth and to another like a baby in a crib with a doll falling out. About 17 per cent of the observers were usually reminded of definite scenes or events in their own past, and then would often go into a lengthy reminiscent description of some particular happening. Others were not reminiscent but would see in the blot some particular individualized object or scene. Such a person would not see just a duck or a man but "A duck standing on its legs, flapping its wings and quacking," or "Peary going to the Pole," or "A picture of a camel I've seen in *Just-So-Stories*." Another group, and these were persons with highly specialized scientific interests, were inclined to generalize. They would take much more pains, be much more serious, and the result would be something like "A potato sprouting," "An insect," or "A butterfly." These unimaginative persons treated the blots as problems to be thought about, their responses were slower, and they would become annoyed with trying to puzzle out what the blots could possibly represent.

The memory of faces, a task set us daily in life, was the problem of Professor Bartlett's next series of experiments. Five cards, each containing the representation of a man's face, were shown, a period of ten seconds being allowed for the study of each face. Then, after half an hour, the subject described the faces, as nearly as possible in the order in which he had seen

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them. He was also asked to describe them again a week or two weeks later. Two methods were used in remembering the faces. One group, which relied upon visual images, were particularly likely to import details that were not there, would freely add moustaches and dimples, and were sure of themselves, having a confidence quite out of proportion to their accuracy. The others were vocalizers. They remembered, not the face itself but rather what they had thought about it or what they had said to themselves about it. These persons were most likely to fit their memories into some logical pattern, sometimes departing from the original in this attempt. The vocalizers were more accurate than the visualizers but less confident. Apparently "seeing is believing" Professor Bartlett comments.

Next Professor Bartlett tried out his subjects' ability to remember a story. An Indian folk tale was selected for the purpose. The individual was allowed to read the story through twice and then later on was asked to write down what he remembered. The changes from the original version were many and varied, and showed interesting tendencies. What was unfamiliar or "queer" in the original story was forgotten or modified in the reproduction. Names were remembered as being more like those familiar to the reader, canoes became boats, no one remembered accurately a supernatural point about a ghost, and on the whole events were modified so that they would logically fit together better. Sometimes new details were invented and imported into the story. After a few successive repetitions of the tale, however, the story for that person was likely to become stereotyped and thereafter was remembered without much change.

The final experiment was the most original and the most significant for the light which it throws on the process of conventionalization. It shows the ways in which people modify new material in the course of assimilation until it is hardly to be recognized for the original imported article. It also shows how this process tends to fit the new material into the previously conceived ideas of the narrators and is a revelation of the manner in which the history of the same events takes on such various forms in different nations.

The first subject was allowed to read a story, or a passage of prose, and was then asked to write down what he had read just as he remembered it. The second man, instead of seeing the original, saw the first man's version. The third man saw the second man's version, and so on. In other words, it was just like the old game of "gossip" except that here the intention was to reproduce the original material as exactly as possible. Nevertheless changes were made. Although the stories gained some extraneous de-

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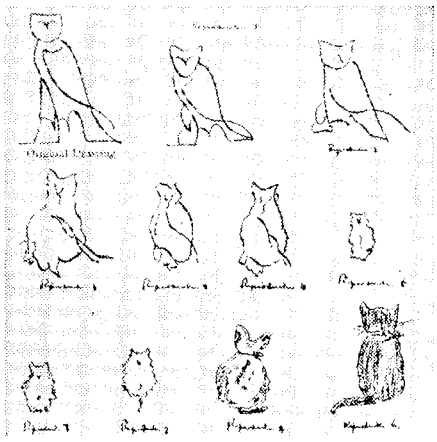
tails they lost much more than they gained. An exciting story of an air-raid in an English railroad station became, in the thirteenth reproduction, as follows:

> I took the Bothams off the platform and put them in the carriage with the old ladies and some toys. I drove them to the station and put them in the train. The engine whistled 4 times. I strolled down the platform and turned in disgust.

For only three reproductions the story remained one of an air-raid, and in the fourth it might be suspected as that, although there was no mention of war.

A similar process of striking changes occurred in the reproduction of a drawing from one person's version to the next. An ancient Egyptian "mulak" or conventionalized reproduction of an owl lost its characteristic elements in a few versions and soon became a very ordinary looking drawing —not, however, of an owl but of a cat, with a ribbon about its neck.



The original drawing from which the copies started was of an Egyptian "mulak" a conventionalized reproduction of an owl, which may have been the basis of the letter M. Notice that details are added and lost until it has become an ordinary tabby cat.

Professor Bartlett concludes that the descriptions of memories as "fixed and lifeless" are merely unpleasant fictions. Memory is to be distinguished from imagination or from constructive thinking, not by the fixity of the material with which it deals but rather in the range of material over which it moves and the manner of its control.

The circumstances that arouse memories always set up an attitude that is primarily towards a particular "schematic" organization. It is within this organization that we find the particular memory sought. With the passage of time, to be sure, wires will cross and memories from one organization will become attached to other schemes. Still the range remains limited.

With constructive imagination no such limits are predetermined. Material from any one organization may be combined with that from any other. The only limitation is that any item must carry enough significance not to fall away from the rest. The more unusual and unexpected the combinations, the better, so long as they will hang together.

In constructive thinking the material is deliberately brought from different organizations and related logically. The selection of

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the material is here controlled, not by the attitude aroused by the situation but by the necessities of the problem. The materials must be pertinent; they must submit to the control of objective fact in science or to universal standards in literature, art and philosophy.

Memory, imagination, and thinking all are inextricably interwoven. Often remembering is really a matter of imaginative construction; often it is more like thinking. Conversely, imagination and thinking are akin to remembering. All are intimately dependent upon the interests and personality of the individual and the interests and traditions of the social group to which he belongs.

Coordinating Our Libraries

PAUL VANDERBILT

MANY groups of scholars find that they habitually use, not a single library but a group of geographically related libraries in which they search from catalog to catalog for a specific desired item. The libraries they cover have grown up during various periods under very different administrations and serve very different functions. But some important principle of cooperation between the libraries is necessary or at least strongly desirable from the users' point of view. Thousands of personal experiences indicate that certain books are often to be found in the libraries where one would least expect them and are completely lacking from those libraries to which one would obviously turn. A number of experiments recently made show, on the other hand, that the combined resources of a community or regional group of libraries present a total wealth in books quite unrealized or unsuspected even by those supposedly well acquainted with the material locally available. A union catalog or finding key to the combined resources of all local libraries has recently been presented as an important solution to this typical confusing problem. Such a union catalog will do for the location of books what an accurate map will do for a problem in geography. Plans have been effected to combine the catalogs of only two libraries or to include entries from as many as 600 locations.

The ideal plan now prominent in the minds of many far-sighted librarians seems to be: To develop the existing immense union catalog of the Library of Congress in Washington, which now has 15,000,000 cards, to the point where it will locate at least one copy of every rare book anywhere in America and will perform as many additional bibliographical services as possible; and at the same time to develop locally a number of community or regional union cata-

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logs of all material of all kinds in all of the local libraries. Eventually it may be possible to develop some sound plan for correlation between the national organization and the regional catalogs as a whole. Many experts feel that only books in certain classes or in certain groups of libraries properly fall within the range of such proposed catalogs. The facts are that while such a selective union catalog can indeed be made, on some more or less arbitrary basis, it is exceedingly difficult to provide for supplements to such a partial catalog and to pick up the thread for expansion where such an arbitrary limitation has been made. It is essential to avoid a network of exceptions.

If constructed on a sound basis and consistently administered, an author or main-entry catalog can be made fairly accurate and reasonably absolute. Experienced scholars, fortunately, customarily deal with author or main entries; their problem is mainly to locate a book they know they want. But the lay public, together with a certain group of specialists, want some form of general subject catalog which will tell them what books are locally available on a certain topic or in a certain field. Subject-bibliography, however, is more or less limitless and open to every phase and degree of personal interpretation. It cannot be termed "accurate" and can never be absolute. In subject-bibliography, even with a union catalog, a researcher, though he may be helped, is still working with a partial coverage of his material. In any case a large author and main-entry catalog will provide a foundation upon which any desired amount of subject-bibliography may rest. From a technical standpoint it is literally easier with modern facilities to cover the entire field for all libraries and all subjects than to make a partial union catalog.

The technique developed for the Union Library Catalog of the Philadelphia Metropolitan Area has already proved itself practical. The Philadelphia Union Catalog, now in the making, involves a combination of the catalogs of about 150 libraries of every conceivable type—colleges and universities, academies, societies, museums, hospitals, clubs, etc., and holds perhaps 5,000,000 volumes. The raw working materials, or complete records, of the resources of all these libraries were brought together by photographing the main cards in all these library catalogs on 16mm. cinema film by the use of Recordak apparatus, originally developed for photographing checks in banks. By means of projectors this film is read by typists and copied onto cards. The cards are stamped with the name of the library from which the film was made and are then filed into one rough alphabet. An expert staff then slowly

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works over the cards and edits them with the help of standard bibliographical aids. Correspondence is invited from any readers who may be interested to know more about the details. A comprehensive report will be issued at some time in the future.

Most of the libraries concerned have entered into a standing agreement to furnish a card to the Union Catalog for each new title added to the library after the completion of the film. The most careful records regarding the ground already covered are kept. There is a detailed analytical volume, library by library and reel by reel of film, showing the relation between our film and the actual situation in each library. Other reports indicate what material was for some reason omitted and precisely where the thread of continuation should be taken up. Still another record system keeps careful track of cards for additions—which are received almost every day. Many points cannot be settled immediately and various matters are held over for special solution—obscure entries, titles not in the Roman alphabet, temporary cards, etc., but we have so far found no problem to which there is not an adequate solution.

The large-scale compilation of the basic catalog described above was begun in January, 1936 and except for the editing, which will go on for some years to come, the undertaking is perhaps 75 per cent completed. It is already in use for the location of books, either by telephone or by mail addressed to Mrs. Ruth W. Linderoth at the Historical Society, 1300 Locust Street, Philadelphia. Although our negative results are not reliable we have fairly consistently been able to locate copies of desired books for many institutions and individuals.

It is very interesting to contemplate the effect which the existence of this catalog may have upon the working convenience of Philadelphia scholars. The sum total of the collections of so many different libraries is likely, when represented by a well-integrated catalog, to be more interesting and valuable than a great single library of equal size. Librarians too can look forward to having a solid base for any cooperative purchasing plan they may formulate. A few years ago the annual investment in books in Philadelphia was approximately $500,000. How much went for material which would not have been purchased had it been known to be available in a neighboring library?

The best summary of various current attempts to cope with the situation is the *Report* of the Informal Conference on Union Catalogs, Library of Congress, April 17th and 18th, 1936, called by the A. L. A. committee on resources of American libraries and the Carnegie Corporation, Chicago, A. L. A., 1936.

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Discussion

Who Did Locate Pluto?

To the Editor:

As each succeeding number of *The American Scholar* comes I take it up with the pleasurable anticipation of finding the articles in it not only interesting but dependable, measuring up to the highest standards of scholarship and accuracy of statement. When, therefore, I found in the Autumn number a statement that was inaccurate and also unfair in its implications it seemed desirable to correct it if possible. The passage in question is found on page 546, in Oliver M. Keve's paper, "Who Are the Ignorant?," and reads:

> Clyde Tombaugh, discoverer of the ninth major planet, Pluto, was a farmer boy interested in an amateur way in astronomy. The experts who had worked for years on the problem failed to find a planet where they felt one should be, but this almost unschooled lad succeeded.

The first sentence might be allowed to pass, for the statement is *literally* correct, but the second sentence is so at variance with the facts that it could only have been written by one entirely unacquainted with them.

Briefly stated they are as follows. Years ago several astronomers, among whom was the late Percival Lowell, had become convinced by their calculations that there is a planet more distant from the Sun than the planet Neptune. Lowell's computations led him to search, more than twenty years ago, over a certain sky area, using photographs made with the instruments then available at the Lowell Observatory, but these instruments were not well adapted to such a search and it proved unsuccessful. More recently a new and specially designed photographic refractor, or star camera, was constructed at the instance of the astronomers of the Lowell Observatory and with this instrument they renewed the search.

In 1928, when Mr. Tombaugh was accepted as an assistant at the Lowell Observatory, this new star camera was being tried out. The instrument was explained to him by the kindly experts and he was even given opportunity to assist in

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the routine process of "guiding" while the many test plates were being taken. He proved to be careful and willing to do precisely as he was instructed even if he did not always know the reasons for the instructions. Later on, therefore, when he had been sufficiently trained he was allowed to take part in the execution of the search program that had been mapped out by the astronomers. This involved taking many long-exposure photographs, developing the plates, and searching them with special apparatus to detect any moving object. The star images would all be round dots whereas a moving object would show as a very minute trail.

Thus it came to pass that on plates taken by Mr. Tombaugh in the latter part of January, 1930 as part of this program he found a small trail. This might or might not be the hoped-for planet. To quote from Baker's *Astronomy*:

> A faint slow-moving object might be, after all, only a nearby asteroid in the neighborhood of a stationary point. If so, its speed would soon increase. But as the weeks went by, the object gave no indication of speeding up. Moreover, its position and motion in the heavens were in reasonable agreement with those predicted from Lowell's theoretical investigations.

When the additional photographs called for had been taken and the accurate determinations of the position and motion of the object had been made and the results compared with the predictions, all the calculations being work for the experts, the discovery of the planet was announced by the Lowell Observatory and Mr. Tombaugh was given the credit for it.

It is evident, however, that the discovery by Mr. Tombaugh was simply a piece of good luck. Whoever examined those special plates would have found the trail. It was certainly not a case of an "almost unschooled lad" succeeding in solving a problem which "experts who had worked for years" had failed to solve. It was a discovery made by that lad, trained by the experts to be able to participate in a program carefully planned by them and carried out with instruments they had caused to be specially constructed for it.

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About Our Authors

Quotation marks indicate passages taken directly from authors' letters about themselves.

EWART TURNER, pastor of the Old Yellow Meeting House at Lowell, Massachusetts, was pastor of the American Church in Berlin from 1930 to 1934. After seeing Hitler at first hand for four years and at intervals in the two years since, he believes that democracy must learn self-regimentation or give way to the regimentation of violence. . . . He graduated from the Boston University School of Theology *magna cum laude* but without membership in Φ B K ("too young for such loftiness"). Later work in a camp where the boys were Jewish and the councillors were Gentile "made anti-Semitism forever impossible.". . . On the side he does speaking for World Associates and the Open Forum Speakers Bureau.

On the authority of *Who's Who* SHAILER MATHEWS, Dean Emeritus of the University of Chicago Divinity School, is the author of innumerable books, active participant on nation-wide Church committees and in peace moves, one-time editor of *The World Today* and lecturer on several notable foundations including the Cole and Ingersoll. But he says: "The most exciting things in my recent life are the publication of a sort of autobiography, *New Faith for Old*, and the next, that an apple orchard down in Maine has finally almost raised enough to pay its expenses. To anyone who like myself has been supporting a farm this might be encouraging. In 1933 I made a trip around the world to give the Barrows Lectures in India and forward the preparations for the World Conference on International Peace through Religion. . . . I am discovering that being an emeritus professor is not quite the same as going on a vacation."

AARON COPLAND, whose work has been played by the Boston and Philadelphia Symphonies, has composed mainly "for the greatest instrument of all—the symphony orchestra," despite having "begun the study of music rather late for a musician—at 13." In line with his dismal conviction that "music is in danger of becoming a mere museum-art with no living relation to the world we live in" and his endeavor to adjust the ear of the contemporary to the music of today he is a member of the League of Composers and the International Society for Contemporary Music "both of which try to bring the music of living composers to the attention of a wider audience. I think the work of the developing school of American composers deserves to be more widely known."

ARTHUR N. HOLCOMBE, professor of government at Harvard, is the author not only of two books on China, *The Chinese Revolution* and *The Spirit of the Chinese Revolution*, but on topics closer home—*The Political Parties of Today* and *Government in a Planned Democracy*. He writes against a background generous both in theoretical training and practical experience as a member of various public bodies (for example the Massachusetts Minimum Wage Commission) . . . . "I first went to China in the fall of 1927, in time to observe the results of the Communist uprising in Canton, and left in time to be present at Moscow at the 6th meeting of the Communist International." . . . A year ago he returned to China at the invitation of the Ministry of Education in Nanking and spent the late winter and spring lecturing at the leading national universities.

A request for high lights from NAOMI KIRK'S life "only serves to deepen a conviction that life may be very pleasant although extremely undramatic—and this in spite of teaching. . . . My pet hate is paper-grading. Even the discovery of a genius (actual), that much-touted indemnity for all teacher woes," she damns with faint praise. . . . In the manner of outlanders she manages "to crowd into one grand orgy all those Broadway shows hardly enough to last until June." . . . On expert testimony we know that she is an authority on the Keats family, newly evidenced by her biography of George Keats, the poet's emigrant brother.

MAURICE NEUFELD, member of the New Jersey State Planning Board, writes

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that sometimes he thinks there's something wrong with him. "I have very few antipathies. I dislike Capitalism but admire and like some capitalists very much. My one real aversion is dictatorship in any form, either from the right or left." This is counter-balanced by a faith in democracy almost amounting to a religion. . . . He is deeply interested in "discovering a usable American past to which liberal Americans may turn for encouragement and illumination." (For further comment on this attitude see his article, "The Crisis in Prospect," Autumn 1935 AMERICAN SCHOLAR, analyzing Henry Adams' search for a usable past.) His interest in the labor movement has been active though at present his participation is vicarious. He has also started to paint, but he is honest enough to admit that "at the time of writing my talent is still latent."

L. SUSAN STEBBING wields a doughty pen, and it is a man of strong or well-corroborated convictions who dares combat her brilliantly taken positions. . . . A philosopher writes: "She is at present professor of philosophy at Bedford College, University of London. While a student at Girton College, Cambridge, preparing for research in the physical sciences, she was attracted to philosophy by the lectures and writings of the Cambridge group of logicians and analytic philosophers. Though there is literally no 'Cambridge School' of philosophy a considerable group of thinkers have been profoundly influenced by G. E. Moore's and Bertrand Russell's conception of the task and method of philosophy. In this group, which eschews traditional deductive metaphysics, Miss Stebbing is one of the outstanding and vigorous members. She has had the great honor of being president of both the Aristotelian Society and the Mind Association, the two philosophic associations of England; and her many papers and addresses as well as her books (the best-known *A Modern Introduction to Logic*) have brought her international recognition. . . . She was visiting professor at Barnard College, Columbia University, in the fall of 1931 and during that period lectured at many of the eastern universities of the United States. She is now at work on a treatise on metaphysics

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and on a book on contemporary philosophy of science."

DOROTHY BLAIR writes poetry despite two hours' daily commuting by bus, and over the weekends rides a bicycle when she can't get a horse. She was a columnist on her college weekly and now helps edit the *Key Reporter*.

"PRESERVED SMITH inherits his odd name from a long line of Puritan ancestors who bore it in the 17th, 18th and 19th centuries. He owes the better part of his education to his father who grounded him in Latin and Greek and took him, as a boy of 14, to spend more than a year in Europe, during which period he collected much of the material for the books he has since written. A small teaching position, suitable to the mediocrity of his abilities and pretensions, allows him to live the quiet life of reading and study that he enjoys. His favorite poet is Homer; his favorite historians include Herodotus, Sarpi, Burnet, Gibbon, Macaulay, Lecky, Hallam, Voltaire, Michelet, Renan, Burckhardt, Ranke, Fueter, Edouard Meyer, Mommsen, Prescott, Henry Charles Lea, and Carl Becker. He dislikes publicity and approves of the ancient saying, '*bene vixit qui bene latuit.*'"

HOWARD R. PATCH, professor of English at Smith, is horrified by a request for autobiographical information in the lighter vein (though obviously he does not take himself too seriously). . . . "My special interest has been Chaucer and his works, and my study has always been devoted to something related to the world in which he lived and to his preoccupations. I recently published a book, *The Tradition of Boethius*, which shows exactly what I mean in this connection." . . . "As for hobbies I take a secret delight in attempting painting in oils."

KILE CROOK (pseudonym) leads a congenial life—subsistence farming and writing—and makes no sorrowful comment on the office job he lost in 1932. He says he is a member of no important society; but he has contributed verse to quite a few magazines and was a fellow at Bread Loaf Con-

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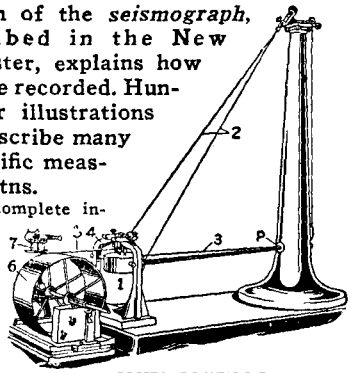

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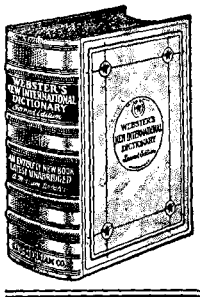

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ference for Writers last summer, which is probably of much greater interest to him.

C. C. FURNAS has always been escaping ossification by changes in occupation, from "contaminating American youth by teaching mathematics and coaching track" to work in the U. S. Steel plant at Gary and 5 years as a physical chemist for the U. S. Bureau of Mines. He also escapes by writing articles and books (*America's Tomorrow* and *The Next 100 Years*). He seems fairly well rooted now, however, in his job as associate professor of chemical engineering at Yale. . . . Mr. Furnas has notions *re* the Utopian community. "The ideal spot to live in would be a university community where there is a good library and no moss on faculty backs, the campus being backed by snow-capped peaks and fronted with a rocky seacoast where a small sloop would be available in a convenient cove. There would be no place for the scholar gone high-hat, who believes that education and the other good things of life are for only a very select few. . . . I believe the prime function of machines is to give a decent standard of living as well as enough leisure to live constructively and well and I have no patience with those who think society should revert to the simpler pre-machine times."

As a member of the staff of Science Service MARJORIE VAN DE WATER makes the rounds of psychology meetings, "converting a bombardment of scientific wordage into compact and readable newspaper articles."

PAUL VANDERBILT thinks that before long we shall have nothing but magazines and encyclopedic compilations, but refrains from comment on the impending change. In his capacity as Librarian of the Pennsylvania Museum of Art in Philadelphia and superintendent of the Union Library Catalog, he seeks to rescue scholars from their ferret search for material secreted in our libraries.

Correction: Henry Grattan Doyle asks us to state that he is Dean of Columbian College, the Senior College of Arts, Letters, and Sciences of George Washington University, and not of the Junior College.

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